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PART LIII.

# FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

# AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

102

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## ERRATA.

Page 7, line 3 from foot of page, and elsewhere, for "Karakli" read "Kavakli."
Page 9, line 6 in paragraph commencing "*Administration*," for "more" read "rather."
Page 9, line 13 from foot, for "1,844" read "11,844."
Page 12, line 2 of paragraph commencing "*General state of the Country*," "except" should commence a new sentence.
Page 13, line 16, for "found" read "formed."
Page 14, line 2, after "Rhodope" insert "Mountains."
Page 16, in paragraph commencing "3. The peasantry," for "modern" read "Moslem."
Page 16, line 6 from foot, for "Messerria" read "Messivria."
Page 17, in three places, for "Bünündjik" read "Büründjik." Also "Atchak-Deré" for "Alchak-Deré."
Page 32, No. 30, line 2, for "17th instant" read "17th ultimo."
Page 114, No. 195, last line, for "13th" read "15th."
Page 140, No. 201, line 5, for "Italian and Greek questions" read "Montenegrin and Greek questions."

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CONFIDENTIAL.

# Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

## PART LIII.

### No. 1.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 253. Political.)

*Scutari, August* 16, 1880.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday's date, I have the honour to furnish herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of the *note verbale* communicated to me by Voïvoda Radonich on the subject of the reported despatch to Scutari of the Seraskier, Hussein Pasha, accompanied by a considerable force, to effect the settlement of the Albano-Montenegrin question, and the objection of the Montenegrin Government to permit the elimination of the position of Dinoshi from the cessions to be made to the Principality according to the Dulcigno arrangement.

I have replied to the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs that I have placed your Lordship in possession of the substance of his *note verbale*, and I have expressed the conviction that Prince Nicholas, knowing the endless difficulties which the Powers have encountered whilst seeking to settle pending affairs between Turkey and Montenegro, will do nothing which may now delay, in the slightest degree, their termination.

I think the time has fully arrived for not paying too strict an attention to the exaggerated fears and susceptibilities of the Montenegrin Government, the result of a long period of anxieties and disappointments, for, when the arrangements of the Powers are satisfactorily carried out, there probably will be none more satisfied than the Montenegrins.

If it is ascertained by competent military authorities that the safety of Podgoritza is not compromised by the retention of the village of Dinoshi by the Albanians, I see no reason why Prince Nicholas should not be called upon to accept as conclusive the decision of the Powers in this matter; whilst, on the other hand, if the view we have already taken here on the subject is found correct, the cession is so small that no further difficulties should be permitted from the side of the Turks.

In any case the retention or surrender of Dinoshi ought not to be permitted to stop the progress of a settlement, and which has now, for the first time, appeared really to be within view.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 1.

*Note Verbale.*

LE Gouvernement Princier vient d'apprendre que le Gouvernement Ottoman a pris la résolution de tenter à céder au Monténégro dans un terme prescrit les terri-

toires indiqués dans la Convention du mois d'Avril dernier, et que dans ce but il se dispose d'envoyer le Ministre de la Guerre, Hussein Pacha, à Scutari, avec plusieurs bataillons, afin de persuader les Albanais pour cet arrangement.

Nous apprenons en même temps que si cela ne réussit pas la Porte se déclare prête à céder Dulcigno, en demandant prolongation du délai et en faisant des réserves pour Dinochi.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Principauté a l'honneur de faire part à la Légation de Sa Majesté Britannique à Cettinjé les réflexions que suggère au Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas Ier la décision prise par la Porte, avec prière de vouloir bien les porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement.

L'envoi du Ministre de la Guerre, Hussein Pacha, pour tenter d'exécuter la Convention d'Avril, nous ferait à lui seul douter de la sincérité de la Porte.

Personne ignore que Hussein Pacha est un des principaux créateurs de la ligue, et n'est-il pas curieux que le choix du Gouvernement tombe précisément sur lui pour exécuter ses ordres? Son arrivée, ainsi qui celle des troupes qui doivent l'accompagner, ne feront qu'encourager les Albanais dans leur idée de résistance; et du reste, pourquoi cet envoi de troupes, puisque la Porte a déclaré préalablement qu'elle ne fera jamais usage de la force pour les contraindre à se soumettre à sa volonté?

Il est évident que le Gouvernement Turc, pour donner plus d'importance à la mission du Ministre de la Guerre, saisit l'occasion de renforcer ses troupes sur notre frontière en prévision d'événements ultérieurs.

D'ailleurs, la question des frontières Monténégrines étant à l'heure qu'il est l'objet de la sollicitude des Puissances Signataires du Traité, et le but principal de leurs soins étant concentré sur la nécessité de la faire exécuter, le Monténégro attend la solution des difficultés présentes de leur accord et de leur influence.

Seulement, le Gouvernement Princier prie la Légation Britannique d'attirer l'attention de son Gouvernement sur les appréhensions que le Monténégro ne peut que concevoir au sujet de la nouvelle augmentation des forces Turques sur nos frontières, en se rappelant de ce qui s'est passé jusqu'à présent. Tout en exposant nos inquiétudes à ce sujet le Gouvernement Princier espère que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique les prendra en considération, et que l'Europe aura en vue de débarrasser le Monténégro de ce nouveau fardeau, en cas que la Porte viendrait de déclarer qu'elle ne peut réussir à lui remettre d'une manière pacifique l'une ou l'autre des compensations.

Quoiqu'il en soit, le Monténégro espère que si la Porte venait à opter pour la cession de Dulcigno, les Puissances maintiendront intacte la ligne-frontière que l'Angleterre lui a proposé, en vue de la nouvelle modification de la compensation pour Gusinjé-Plava, et à laquelle il a adhéré.

En conséquence, la réserve que fait la Porte au sujet de Dinochi ne saurait être admise, et suffirait à elle seule pour faire échouer la combinaison.

*Cettinjé, le 7e Août*, 1880.

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No. 2.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 1.)

(No. 254. Political.)

*Scutari, August* 17, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have observed during the last few days, in almost all quarters, Christian and Mahommedan, a marked change and calmness as to the solution of the pending frontier questions.

I cannot abstain from expressing a certain sense of satisfaction on finding that the views I have held for so many months past, and which seemed to cause me to be held up as an enemy of the country, are now adopted by all parties, and are emitted as irrefutable arguments in favour of a speedy settlement with Montenegro on the basis of the Dulcigno arrangement.

The Roman Catholics of Scutari, and the mountain tribes, have come to a distinct understanding not to move for the defence of the Dulcigno district, and to-day two of the Chiefs of Hotti and Gruda, who have come to Scutari to ascertain how matters are progressing, have clearly expressed the general position by stating that anybody will defend his own possessions to the last, but that the custody of those of others must depend upon the proprietors themselves, or the Government.



I learn, further, that Hodo Bey has written to the Scutari Committee to warn it against permitting the cession of any of the mountain districts, adding that it would be better to lose half-a-dozen Dulcignos than to allow one Roman Catholic tribe to be annexed by Montenegro.

Language in this sense has also been used to me by some of the most influential Mahommedans of Scutari.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 3.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 1.)

(No. 263. Political.)

*Scutari, August* 21, 1880.

My Lord,

DURING the last few days the Scutari Committee and all the natives had been quite taken by surprise by the Porte's energetic steps; the sudden recall of Izzet Pasha; the appointment as his successor of Hadji Osman Pasha, the brave and straightforward officer who had subdued the insurrection in Mirdicia, and who had quietly surrendered Spuz and Podgoritza to Montenegro; the arrival of about 2,500 Anadolian soldiers perfectly disciplined and equipped; and the coming of Riza Pasha with a large sum of money, all tended to make easy the way for the fulfilment of whatever engagements might have been taken by the Sultan towards the Powers.

The first blow delivered to this favourable combination of things came from Riza Pasha himself, who telegraphed from Durazzo that apartments should be prepared for him in the house of the Dragoushas, who are the most active leaders in Scutari of the Mahommedan portion of the league. The second assault came from Hadji Osman Pasha, who, as soon as he received the telegram from Constantinople confirming his appointment as Vali, went and paid his respects to the Scutari Committee at its public place of meeting.

The tone of the Turkish Government having been thus ascertained, the Committee considered it proper, in order to do away with the first impressions of the recent occurrences, to publish by some act of authority that matters remained unchanged, and it, therefore, gave notice by the public crier that the tithes must be paid to it instead of to the Ottoman functionary hitherto charged with their collection. Since then the tithes have been brought by the peasants to the Committee.

Shortly after Riza Pasha's arrival it was ascertained that he stated he had come without any positive instructions, but that he could assure his friends that neither Dulcigno would be given up, nor would the Turkish troops be employed to coerce the North Albanians into surrendering any of their territory.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon the effect of such language; it has naturally been accepted as a direct order from the Sultan to continue the resistance which has from the commencement had its origin in the orders arriving from Constantinople.

This afternoon I called on Riza Pasha, who was pleased to tell me that the Porte and all the Ambassadors held me responsible for the present unfortunate position of affairs here, and that he consequently depended entirely on my assistance to lessen the difficulties of the errand upon which he had been sent.

I did not think it necessary to discuss with the General the origin of the Dulcigno arrangement; but I explained to him that whensoever it arose he might feel assured that the matter now rested entirely with the Powers, and that I was convinced he would be doing the Porte an ill-service by harking back upon arguments and ideas which had long ago been set aside.

Riza hereupon assumed a very serious tone, and declared he would be obliged to throw up his mission and go back to Constantinople. He said I must not imagine that the troops recently arrived had been sent to coerce the Albanians; they had merely come to be placed along whatever new frontier-line might be fixed upon. There could never be a question of a *de facto* surrender of Dulcigno. The Porte had merely accepted the cession of the town "in principle." Riza Pasha counted much upon my assistance to obtain the modification of the frontier to the east of Lake Scutari proposed in Abédine Pasha's reply to the collective note. By a strict adherence to the localities mentioned in the Treaty of Berlin, instead of to the position they hold on the Austrian Staff Map, the Porte would reacquire a very large extent of territory in the Plain of Podgoritza, and a population quite equal in numbers to that of Dulcigno. As the Prince of Montenegro

could not afford to lose this population, which is pure Slav, he would have to come to a transaction with Turkey, and that by this means Dulcigno could be saved. In order to make the arrangement more acceptable to Prince Nicholas, the Sultan would bestow on His Highness valuable jewels, and, if necessary, a large sum in money.

I once again assured the General that he was nursing himself with illusions, and that he would do his country real service by not encouraging them.

It was here that the Pasha intimated that the Powers on the rejection of his plans would find themselves obliged to act without the Turkish Government, and perhaps, hereafter, might regret their precipitancy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 4.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 264. Political.)
*Scutari, August* 22, 1880.

My Lord,

I LEARN that Riza Pasha last night summoned the Scutari Committee to a conference with himself, and the whole body proceeded to the Government House accompanied by upwards of 100 men armed with rifles, who remained outside the building whilst the interview was being held.

The gist of Riza Pasha's communication to the Committee was that he had no instructions from the Porte. He could, however, assure it that no territory would be surrendered to the east of Lake Scutari. Nor did he think Dulcigno would be ceded. If the Committee feared that the town was in danger he was prepared to dispatch two battalions to guard it, but he could not hide from it that if he received orders from Constantinople not to defend Dulcigno he would be obliged, even if it was garrisoned with six battalions, to withdraw them.

He strongly counselled the Committee to have confidence in the Ottoman Government, and to submit itself to whatever might be decided at Constantinople.

Riza appears merely to have succeeded in confirming the Committee in its conviction of the weakness of his character, and in the belief that the Porte has not yet come to any decision about the surrender of Dulcigno.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 5.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 291.)
*Therapia, August* 27, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of the collective note addressed to the Porte on the 25th instant by the Representatives of the Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin at Constantinople, replying to the Porte's answer of the 26th July to the collective note of the 15th July, on the subject of the Turco-Greek boundary. The note was presented yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 5.

*The Representatives of the Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin at Constantinople to Abédine Pasha.*

*Constantinople, le 25 Août*, 1880.

LES Gouvernements des Soussignés ont examiné la réponse faite par la Sublime Porte, le 26 Juillet dernier, à la note collective en date du 15 du même mois, par laquelle ils lui ont communiqué l'Acte Final de la Conférence de Berlin relatif à la rectification de la frontière Grecque.

Après avoir exposé, dans cette réponse, ses objections aux conclusions de l'Acte



Final de la dite Conférence, la Sublime Porte exprimait le désir que les Puissances Médiatrices voulussent bien autoriser leurs Représentants à Constantinople à entrer en négociations avec elle en vue d'arriver à une entente quant à la fixation définitive du tracé de la frontière ainsi qu'au réglement des points secondaires et de détail qui se rattachent à cette question.

Les Soussignés, par l'ordre de leurs Gouvernements, ont l'honneur de faire savoir à son Excellence Abédine Pacha que, la décision de la Conférence de Berlin ayant été prise après mûre délibération et à la suite d'un examen attentif des différents tracés successivement proposés par les Gouvernements Ottoman et Grec, les Puissances Médiatrices ne sauraient consentir à ce que la discussion fût rouverte à cet égard. Elles ne peuvent que s'en tenir à la décision de la Conférence, qu'elles ont approuvée, et la recommander de nouveau à la Sublime Porte comme conforme au Traité et au Protocole de Berlin.

Les Gouvernements de l'Allemagne, de l'Autriche-Hongrie, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de l'Italie, et de la Russie, se trouvent, par suite, dans l'impossibilité d'autoriser les Soussignés à accepter aucune discussion sur le tracé de la frontière. Ils ne peuvent que leur laisser la faculté d'examiner toute proposition que la Porte aurait à leur communiquer en ce qui concerne la meilleure manière d'effectuer l'évacuation par les autorités Ottomanes, des territoires que vise la décision de la Conférence, ainsi que leur remise au Gouvernement Hellénique.

Les Soussignés, &c. (Signé) HATZFELDT.
CALICE.
C. TISSOT.
GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.
L. CORTI.
NOVIKOFF.

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No. 6.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 292.)
*Therapia, August* 27, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch from Colonel Wilson, inclosing his Report on Eastern Roumelia.

I should be glad to be favoured with your Lordship's instructions whether a copy of this Report should be communicated to the Porte. My own opinion is, that it is desirable that this should be done.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

*Colonel Wilson to Mr. Goschen.*

Sir,
*Buyukdéré, August* 27, 1880.

IN submitting the inclosed Report on Eastern Roumelia, I have the honour to state that, in compliance with the instructions conveyed to me in your Excellency's despatch of the 30th June last, I proceeded to Philippopoli on the 1st July. After examining the records in the office of Her Majesty's Consul-General at that place, and consulting with Mr. Stephen, I decided upon the districts which it seemed advisable to visit.

The districts selected were the country lying south of the Balkans between Eski-Zaghra and Carlovo, which had suffered much during the Russo-Turkish war; the borderland in the Rhodope Mountains, which had not been taken possession of by the Government of Eastern Roumelia; the Greek district of Stanimaka, Kavakli, and Anchialo-Missivria; the Kirdjali and Aïdos districts, which had been the scenes of recent disturbances.

In travelling between these points I was brought into contact with many of the officials of the Government of Eastern Roumelia, and also had an opportunity of conversing freely with the peasantry, Christian and Moslem.

I left Bourgas for Varna on the 10th instant. I would beg to express to your Excellency my sense of the friendly manner in which I was received by all classes of the population, and of the assistance which was rendered to me by the Government officials of all ranks.

I am also much indebted to Mr. Stephen, Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Philippopoli, Mr. Brophy, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Bourgas, and to the Agents of the foreign Governments at Philippopoli and Bourgas, for the information they kindly placed at my disposal.

I should wish, too, to bring to your Excellency's notice the valuable assistance which I have received from Mr. Block, Assistant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

*Report by Colonel Wilson on Eastern Roumelia.*

*Population.*—The population of Eastern Roumelia according to the Official Returns of the recent census is 815,513, composed as follows:—

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|---|---|
| Bulgarians | 573,231 |
| Moslems | 174,769 |
| Greeks | 42,516 |
| Gypsies | 19,524 |
| Jews | 4,177 |
| Armenians | 1,396 |
| | 815,513 |

The Returns are probably open to criticism, as several complaints were made to me of the manner in which the census had been made, but there can be no doubt as to the fact that the Bulgarians form a very large majority and the Greeks a very small minority of the total population.

*Government in the Hands of the Bulgarians.*—Since the promulgation of the Organic Statute and the evacuation of the country by the Russians, the Government of Eastern Roumelia has been practically in the hands of the Bulgarians, and it must at once be confessed that, though they have in many respects shown much aptitude for self-government, they have not used their power in such a manner as to earn the confidence or the respect of the minorities. The Bulgarians had a very difficult task to perform; they had to introduce and apply a Statute, western rather than eastern in form and character, amongst a people who had always been accustomed to an eastern system of Government; and they had to do this, not only at a time when men's minds were still excited by the events of the war, but with an untrained staff which had had no previous experience in administration, and which, with rare exceptions, had seen no form of Government but the Turkish, which is certainly one of the worst of the world. Under such circumstances, it is matter for surprise, not that so many faults have been committed, but that so much real progress has been made. In fact, if it were not for the want of generosity which is constantly shown in dealing with all questions affecting the minorities, and for the almost open partiality of the Law Courts when mixed cases come before them, there would be much to praise in the efforts which the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia have made to govern themselves.

*Feeling with regard to the Organic Statute.*—The opinion of the Bulgarians with regard to the Organic Statute seems to be divided; many men, and those the most enlightened in the country, appeared to me to recognize the liberal character of the Statute, and to be really anxious to apply it to the best of their ability, trusting to future legislation by the Provincial Assembly for any modifications which might be found necessary. I met more than one official who had studied the Statute thoroughly, and knew it almost by heart. On the other hand, many officials belonging to the so-called patriotic party, partly, perhaps, to save themselves trouble, do not make any real effort to carry out the Statute; they argue that it is not much use trying to apply a Statute which will become obsolete when union with Bulgaria, which they expect shortly, is effected. These men also look to the union as a ready means of settling the Greek and Moslem questions in accordance with their own views.

It will perhaps be convenient, before touching upon the state of the country, to draw attention to some points in connection with the Organic Statute, which came under my notice in Eastern Roumelia.

*Relations of Eastern Roumelia with the Supreme Government at Constantinople.*—The first is the relations of the province with the Supreme Government at Constantinople. The intention of the International Commission which framed the Statute appears to have been to place the Sultan in the position of a constitutional Sovereign, in direct communication with the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia—that is to say, it was intended that all laws passed by the Provincial Assembly should be submitted to the Sultan without previous discussion by the Council of Ministers at Constantinople, and that they should, as a matter of course, be at once approved by His Majesty, unless they contained anything seriously compromising Imperial interests. It was apparently also intended that the approval of the Sultan should not be withheld without very grave cause, when men were nominated to the higher appointments by the Governor-General.



The Porte has, however, adopted a line of action entirely in opposition to the spirit of the Organic Statute; the laws, including the Budget, passed during the last Session of the Assembly, have been discussed and rejected by the Council of Ministers at Constantinople, though there was nothing subversive in their tendency, and several of the nominations made by the Governor-General have not yet been approved. It is perhaps worthy of remark that the Organic Statute mentions the Sultan alone, and does not allude to the Council of Ministers or to any individual Minister at Constantinople.

The result of this mistaken policy at Constantinople has been to create an irritation against the Porte which has largely influenced the feelings of the official class, and prompted them in some cases to look to union with Bulgaria or autonomy for relief from the position in which the country has been placed. The action of the Porte has given rise to a feeling of uncertainty as to the legality of all proceedings; anyone may now come before the Courts and say, "I am not bound by such a law, as it is illegal, not having received the sanction of the Sultan." It affords too an excuse for inaction, as in the case of the loan sanctioned by the Assembly for the purchase of oxen, &c., for the Moslem refugees, which has not yet been raised in consequence of the rejection of the Budget. The question of special postage stamps for Eastern Roumelia, which has, I believe, been recently arranged in a satisfactory manner, was one that deeply irritated the people, and the action of the Custom-house officials in refusing to recognize the Eastern Roumelian seal whilst they admit the seals of other vilayets is the subject of much comment.

Unless some change takes place and the interference of the Council of Ministers is checked, it will be impossible for the Government of Eastern Roumelia to carry on its duties in a proper manner, or for the province to make any progress.

*Occupation of the Balkans.*—The right of the Sultan to occupy the Balkans with Turkish troops has been the cause of much disquietude, as the Bulgarians live in constant fear that it will be exercised. The occupation of the Balkans is a question upon which there is no difference of opinion amongst the Bulgarians; any attempt to carry it out would be energetically resisted, and the passage of the first Turkish soldier across the frontier would be the signal for horrors far surpassing those of the late war. One Bulgarian official said, "If it is decided to send Turkish troops to the Balkans we will lay waste this beautiful Roumelia, kill the inhabitants, and then leave *en masse*," and I have every reason to think that he expressed a not uncommon feeling. I believe that an advance of Turkish troops to occupy the Balkans would be the signal for a massacre of the Moslem population, and that this would be followed, as the Turkish troops advanced, by a massacre of the Christians. In the interests of humanity as well as in those of the people of Eastern Roumelia, it is desirable that some definite understanding should be arrived at with regard to the circumstances under which the Sultan would exercise his right of occupying the Balkans.

*Distribution of Public Employment.*—The Articles of the Statute which provide for a proper distribution of public employment amongst the different nationalities have not been fairly carried out. It is true that there is a certain proportion of Greek and Moslem Baillis and Councillors in the departments, but the higher offices are practically closed to Greeks and Moslems, however well qualified they may be, and there are comparatively few of either nationality amongst the minor class of officials and the gendarmes. For instance, at the large salt works near Anchialo, a purely Greek town, there are no Greek employés. In the Anchialo Canton, which contains, officially, 3,321 Bulgarians, 7,426 Greeks, and 5,292 Moslems, the gendarme force consists of 49 Bulgarians, 5 Greeks, and 7 Moslems. In the Karakli Canton, which has an official Greek population of 11,844, there are only two Greek gendarmes; and in other cantons the number of Moslems employed is quite disproportionate to their relative strength. I believe, with a few excep-

tions, none of the officers or non-commissioned officers in the gendarmerie, or the Commissaries of police, are Greek or Moslem. The minor appointments in the provincial bureaux, in the Courts of Justice, and in the finance departments, are almost entirely filled by Bulgarians. The excuse is that Greeks and Moslems cannot be found who know Bulgarian sufficiently well to act as clerks; but this does not apply to the gendarmerie, and I attribute many of the disturbances which have arisen to the employment of Bulgarian boys of 18 to 21 as gendarmes in purely Greek and Moslem districts, when men of mature age and good character could have been obtained from the Greek and Moslem population.

*The Three Languages.*—The provisions of the Statute with regard to the use of the three languages are often evaded; the laws, circulars, &c., issued by the Governor-General and by the heads of departments at Philippopoli are printed in Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish; but in the departments and cantons, and especially in the Courts of Justice, the tendency has certainly been to discourage any language except Bulgarian. Instances were brought to my notice in which magistrates or Judges had refused to receive petitions or to issue sentences in any other language but Bulgarian; all records are kept in Bulgarian, and very general complaints were made to me that plaintiffs or witnesses using Greek or Turkish in the Courts failed to receive the attention of the Judges. I have myself seen departmental or cantonal orders written in Bulgarian, which had been sent to purely Turkish villages; the villagers were entirely ignorant of their contents, though this, of course, would never be accepted as an excuse for non-compliance with those which required action.

It is impossible not to sympathize with the Bulgarians in their wish to introduce Bulgarian as the sole official language. The Greek language is that of a small minority, and the number of Turks who can read and write their own language is comparatively small. As Turkish was formerly the official language, every one in the country knows it more or less, and it is still the common medium of communication between the different nationalities; but it is not likely that the rising generation, either Greek or Bulgarian, will take the trouble to learn a difficult language which has no literature. A time must, therefore, soon arrive when the minorities will be compelled to learn Bulgarian, in order that they may be able to communicate with the majority. The practical difficulties connected with the use of three official languages in a population of 800,000 are, no doubt, very great, but no one can approve of the manner in which the Bulgarians are attempting to force their own language on the minorities. It would seem wiser to accept the provisions of the Organic Statute loyally, and to endeavour to obtain some modification of them, such as permission to introduce Bulgarian as the sole official language after a certain number of years, by submitting a fair statement of the case to the Porte and the Powers, under Article 195 of the Statute.

An incident at one of the recent meetings of the General Council of Bourgas will show the spirit in which some Bulgarians treat the question of language. A long discussion having taken place in Bulgarian, the Turkish members requested that its object and nature might be explained to them. The President refused, and replied that, if the Moslems wished to know what was going on, they must learn Bulgarian. The reply was couched in such strong, insulting language, that the Moslems and Greeks withdrew from the Council, and prepared a protest to the Central Government.

*Liberty of the Subject.*—The minorities complain, with some justice, that their rights as citizens of Eastern Roumelia are not always respected. Warrants are often issued on slender grounds, and Greeks and Moslems are arrested and imprisoned in a somewhat arbitrary manner, though doubtless with a certain legal formality. The rights of property, too, are not sufficiently taken into consideration when the owners are non-Bulgarian. In certain districts the Greeks cannot travel about the country with freedom, or ply their trade with safety. On one occasion I met a Greek workman who had been turned out of two or three Bulgarian villages, in which he wished to ply his trade, at the instigation, as the Bulgarians alleged, of an official; and in other localities no Greeks are allowed to buy or sell in a Bulgarian village without obtaining a permit or licence to trade, signed by a Bulgarian Council of Elders, in addition to the passport "tezkere," signed by the Baillí, with which every man who leaves his own village has to be provided.

In some places also, especially in the Department of Bourgas, the Moslems cannot move about the country with any sense of security.



The press has, however, enjoyed perfect liberty, and it is much to be regretted that it has not yet acquired a more healthy tone. The acrimonious character of the articles published in the "Maritza" and the "Philippopoli" has done much to rouse passions which it would have been much better to leave at rest.

*Elections.*—Constant complaints were made to me with regard to the system of election to the Provincial Assembly and to the Councils-General of the departments. The Commission appointed under the terms of the Organic Statute, for the purpose of defining the electoral districts, consisted of 20 Bulgarians, 1 Greek, 1 Moslem, 1 Armenian, 1 Jew, and Mr. Schmidt, the Director of Finance. It was only natural that a Commission containing such a large Bulgarian majority should show little consideration for the interests of the minorities, and the result was an arrangement of the electoral districts which excluded the non-Bulgarian element, as far as possible, from representation in the Assembly and on the Councils-General. For instance, the Council-General of Bourgas consists of 18 Bulgarians, and only 9 Moslems and Greeks, though the official Bulgarian population is 36,997, and the Moslem and Greek 39,889. No legal objection can be raised to the decision of the Commission, but it is one of those cases in which a more generous treatment of the minorities would have prevented a grievance, without in any way diminishing the power of the Bulgarian majority.

There have also been instances in which the elections of Greeks have been annulled for reasons which would not have been considered valid if the election of a Bulgarian had been challenged.

The minorities have certainly suffered from the manner in which the elections have been manipulated, and it is to be hoped that the Provincial Assembly will give attentive consideration to any Bill which may be laid before it relating to a redivision of the electoral districts.

*Permanent Committee.*—It may be remarked incidentally that all power in Eastern Roumelia has virtually passed into the hands of the Permanent Committee, and that, as far as I could judge during my recent tour, the Governor-General exercised little authority.

*Administration.*—In fixing the boundaries of the administrative divisions of the province, the Bulgarians have not always acted up to the spirit of the Statute. I was unable to obtain a map showing the administrative divisions, but I could not help noticing that in several instances the boundaries had been fixed with but slight regard to local interests or facility of communication. The territorial divisions are due more to political motives, and to a desire to make such arrangements as would enable Government employés to use Bulgarian as the sole official language. The Government appears to have recognized every small village as a rural canton under the Statute. This has been the cause of much inconvenience, and several officials spoke to me of the difficulties they had to contend with in dealing with a large number of "Maires," many of whom could not read the orders sent to them or write replies. The "Maires" are often not sufficiently intelligent to perform the duties assigned to them by the Statute, and this is not unfrequently the cause of trouble and disturbance in mixed villages. It would seem better to group villages into communes of nearly equal population; this would simplify the work of the local authorities, and probably result in the election of a higher class of men as "Maires." The effect of the present system is, in some cases, to give the Bulgarians a majority in the election of Assessors to the Courts. The Assessors are elected by the communes, each of which has two votes, without reference to its population; it thus happens that a commune of 50 families has the same influence as one of 1,500. In the Canton of Karakli, for instance, there are 29 villages, of which only 7 are Greek, whilst the official Greek population is 1,844, out of a total of 29,557; the Greek votes are 14 against 44, and Karakli itself, with a Greek population of 6,000, has only 2 votes. Some modification is certainly required in the existing boundaries of the administrative divisions, and a change would be advisable in the mode of electing Assessors to the Courts; they are both points which have given rise to much dissatisfaction amongst the Greeks and Moslems.

*Administrative Staff.*—The members of the administrative staff made, on the whole, a most favourable impression upon me; none of them have had any previous experience in administration, but with a few exceptions they have tried to supply the deficiency by attention to their work and an honest desire to govern the people to the best of their ability. Some of the officials, like the late Prefect of Bourgas, have allowed themselves to be led by unscrupulous men, and others are said to show their antipathy to the Greeks in a marked manner; but, on the whole,

the Préfets and Baillis appeared to be liked by the minorities, and, with all their faults, they are certainly more honest and capable than Turkish officials of a similar class. In one canton, however, there was a Bailli whose previous career would in any other country have debarred him from public employment.

*Administration of Justice.*—The manner in which justice is administered in the Courts was the subject of much complaint amongst the Greeks and Moslems. The procedure is expensive and tedious, and non-Bulgarians rarely receive justice.

The Cantonal Courts especially are in an unsatisfactory condition, and seem in several places to be little better than the Turkish Caza Courts which they have replaced, with this exception, however, that bribery does not appear to be practised.

The comparative failure of the Courts is probably due to the character of the *personnel*, which, as far as it came under my notice, is inferior to that of the administrative service; to the vanity of the judicial staff, and to feelings left by the late war.

The Government of Eastern Roumelia must have experienced much difficulty in finding men to fill the numerous offices created by the Statute, and it is not surprising that men of inferior ability were sometimes selected. It occasionally happens, also, that from want of qualified men officials who have proved themselves incompetent in one place are transferred to another; and in one or two instances appointments have been made which are the cause of much scandal. The Judge of the Criminal Court, for example, in one department was convicted of theft during the Russian occupation, and is generally believed to have been, when Bailli of a canton, the protector of a band of robbers and the instigator of more than one murder.

The Judges and Assessors have not, as a rule, much knowledge of law; they have no practical experience, and have seen no legal proceedings but those conducted before the corrupt Turkish Courts. Some of them study law and endeavour to give just decisions, but others seem to think that the mere fact of their appointment makes them skilled lawyers, and blunders are not unfrequently committed.

The Judges and Assessors are often men who were imprisoned, tortured, or banished during and previous to the war, and who have lost some near relative or friend under painful circumstances. They profess, I believe sincerely, to wish to forget what has passed, but I fear the remembrance of former events often turns the scale when a case between a Bulgarian and Moslem comes before them. Unfortunately, the poor Moslem peasant suffers for the crimes committed by others. Cases were mentioned to me on the best authority in which Bulgarians who had committed assaults and robberies on Moslems were acquitted or allowed to escape, though taken almost in the act, and others in which nominal sentences had been passed on Bulgarians for crimes for which a Moslem would have been severely punished.

*Education.*—Nothing is more hopeful in Eastern Roumelia than the efforts which are being made by the Bulgarians to improve the education of the people. Old schools are being improved and new ones opened; and though young Bulgarians are taught that Constantinople is one of the towns of Bulgaria, and their minds are filled by patriotic odes with Pan-Bulgarian ideas, the instruction seems on the whole to be sound and good. The Greeks complain that they have not received their proper share of the Government grant in aid of education, but without full details it is not easy to say how far their complaint is just. The question of State assistance to Moslem schools is a difficult one; at present the Moslems seem determined to adhere to their old system of education, which consists in teaching the children to read the Koran, in Arabic, which they do not understand, and to write. The State can hardly be expected to aid such a system, and I believe no portion of the grant has been given to the Moslems. A Préfet told me that in one town he had offered to build a school for the Moslems if they would promise to introduce a better system of education, and that, though they had at first refused his offer, they had at last accepted it after much discussion. This, however, is a solitary instance, and it is to be feared that the Moslems will go backward whilst the other nationalities are advancing, and that they will thus remain to a great extent unfitted to exercise their full rights as citizens.

*Militia.*—The militia companies, when I was in Eastern Roumelia, were under canvass and fully occupied with their summer drills; but I heard complaints of the unfairness with which the billets had been distributed amongst the different nationalities, and of the conduct of the militiamen during the winter. The Supply



Department appears to have been in an unsatisfactory state, and as fuel and food were not issued regularly, the soldiers sometimes helped themselves. At present the militia have only received a portion of their pay for June, and have been told that they must wait for their pay for July until a more convenient season arrives; many of the men have no great coats or boots, and there seemed slight chance of their obtaining them. There seemed to be much dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, and regret was expressed at the departure of M. Schmidt, during whose term of office there was always money in the military chest. It is hardly necessary to point out that these conditions are not favourable to the *morale* of a force composed chiefly of young men from 19 to 23 years of age, and that excesses consequently occur when detachments are sent into Moslem districts.

Recruits have been drawn this year from Greeks, Moslems, Jews, and gypsies. The Greeks assert that their recruits are separated and sent to join companies at long distances from each other; that they are beaten for not understanding the Russian words of command, and ill-treated by their comrades if they speak Greek. There is such bitter enmity between Bulgarians and Greeks throughout the country that it is highly probable that the Greek recruits are roughly handled by their Bulgarian comrades; this, however, will gradually pass away, and joint service in the militia may lead to more kindly relations in civil life between the two people. At first there was some difficulty with the Moslem recruits; the Imams in some towns would not allow the recruits to enter a mosque without taking off their uniform, and the recruits themselves had a great objection to the undress cap with its peak. Some recruits deserted, whilst others did not answer to their names when called up for service; but a better feeling is gradually growing up—the Imams no longer object to the uniform, and the Moslems are becoming more reconciled to the cap.

The Reservists, late Gymnasts, are drilled every Sunday; the Bulgarians with arms, the Greeks and Moslems without. The Bulgarians have lost much of their enthusiasm for these exercises, and as they cannot legally be compelled to attend them, the numbers at the Sunday parades have greatly fallen off. The Greeks and Moslems are quite ready to take part in the exercises, but they do not like being drilled without arms, and are much discontented with the arrangement; there is, too, something ridiculous in the fact that Moslems who fought at Plevna or Shipka are sometimes taught the "goose-step" in Russian, by Bulgarian boys of nineteen or twenty.

There is a great want of competent instructors for the Reservists, and the Sunday drills throughout the country are under very slight control.

It may be added that the militia has made considerable progress in drill; that the material of which it is composed is good, though young, and that in a few years' time, if discipline can be introduced, it will be a very serviceable force.

*Gendarmerie.*—The state of the gendarmerie force is, on the whole, extremely unsatisfactory. In some districts it appears to be fairly good, but in others its reputation is, if possible, worse than that of the Turkish zaptieh force which it has replaced. There is the same tendency to bully and ill-treat the people, the same corruption, the same connivance at crime on receipt of a bribe, and the same custom of living at free quarters on the villagers. The conduct of some of the Bulgarian officers of the force has also been such as to set a bad example to their men; they have, it is to be feared, occasionally neglected their duty, set themselves in opposition to the administrative authorities, and encouraged rather than discouraged robbery and other crimes. In two instances I have every reason to believe that the officers commanding the gendarmes were actively engaged in sowing discord between the Bulgarian peasants and the Greeks and Moslems, and in persuading the first to have no dealings with the second. It must be added that some districts form a bright exception, the gendarmes being smart, intelligent men, and that the state of the force in each canton depends much on the character of the officer who commands it. Several causes have led to this unfortunate result; the men, in distinct violation of the Statute, were at first enlisted in the most careless manner, without any previous inquiry as to their antecedents, and large numbers of lads from 18 to 21 years of age were allowed to enter. Officers and men were paid in silver instead of gold, to which they were entitled; the paymasters thus gained a few piastres on each lira, and the men being cheated themselves did not hesitate to recover the money in other ways. No pay has been issued for June or July, and as the gendarme must live, he has to follow the example

of the Turkish zaptieh, and take what he cannot pay for. Strict discipline is not enforced, and the gendarmes are not punished when they commit offences. A case was brought to my notice in which a Judge had refused to receive a petition against a gendarme for assault, on the ground that a gendarme was not likely to have committed such an act. The gendarmes are, for the most part, young and inexperienced; their traditions are those of the zaptieh force, the only police they have ever seen; the general tone of the force is low, there is no *esprit de corps*, and, with the exception of the foreign officers, the officers are without experience, and have not yet acquired the art of commanding men, or the habit of enforcing discipline.

The greatest dissatisfaction exists amongst the Greeks and Moslems at the composition of the force and the distribution of the members. Not only are the minorities insufficiently represented, but gendarmes are sent to places where they are of little use. For instance, of fourteen Greek gendarmes enlisted at Karakli, twelve were sent to purely Bulgarian districts, where, not knowing Bulgarian, they could only communicate with the people in Turkish, whilst Bulgarians who do not speak a word of Greek act as gendarmes at Karakli. In purely Turkish districts also I met boy Bulgarian gendarmes whose knowledge of the Turkish language was limited. A gendarme nineteen years of age can hardly be expected to restrain armed Bulgarians when they become excited, or to inspire Greeks and Moslems with any feelings of respect.

The youth and inexperience of the gendarmes have been the direct or indirect cause of the disturbances in Eastern Roumelia; and such disturbances are likely to continue unless some radical change is made. The most corrupt and incompetent gendarmes, officers, and men should be dismissed; men of more mature age and of good character should be enlisted; a fair proportion of men should be taken from the Greeks and Moslems; Greek gendarmes should be employed in Greek-speaking districts and Moslem in Turkish; a larger proportion of experienced foreign officers should be employed until the force acquires a higher *morale*, and every effort should be made to ensure prompt payment of salaries: an unpaid gendarme is little better than a licensed robber.

*Landed Property.*—Great interest attaches to the four Bills relating to landed property, which the Governor-General is bound by the Statute to present to the Assembly during its next Session. There seemed to be a wish among some persons to defer the introduction of these Bills, but it is very desirable in the interests of those Moslems whose lands are still in the hands of the Bulgarians that the provisions of the Statute should be carried out. The recent arrangements at Eski-Zaghra show how necessary an expropriation law is, and there are many questions connected with vacouf lands which require an early settlement.

*General State of the Country.*—The general state of the country was much better than I had expected to find it, except in the Department of Bourgas, and in a few localities near the frontier serious crimes are now rare, and over the greater portion of the country people of all nationalities are able to move about with perfect freedom. It must be added that my journey was made whilst nearly everyone was engaged in gathering the harvest, and that I therefore saw the country and the people under very favourable circumstances.

I was much struck by the contrast between Eastern Roumelia and the adjoining Vilayet of Adrianople, as far as regards material prosperity, and I believe that, notwithstanding great difficulties, substantial progress has been made in the former. It is only necessary to compare the Roumelia of to-day with the Roumelia of last August to see how great the advance has been. With the exception of the Moslem refugees and the educated and merchant classes amongst the Greeks, everyone has materially gained by the change in the system of government.

The country requires, above everything, rest and freedom from that political agitation which has done so much during the last two years to raise feelings of animosity between the members of the different nationalities. There are signs that the political agitation which was principally carried on by means of the Gymnastic Societies is dying out, but, unfortunately, it has left evils which it will be difficult to eradicate. The Bulgarian peasant does not receive new ideas readily, but when they are once impressed on his mind he does not easily lose them. The effect of the agitation has been to leave three distinct impressions on the peasant's mind: (1) that union with Bulgaria is a panacea for all evils, and, therefore, an object to be obtained at the earliest possible opportunity; (2) that every Greek is his mortal enemy; and (3) that all Moslem property belongs of right to Bulgarians. These three ideas, more than any action or inaction on the part of the Government, have been the



cause of the disorders of the last twelve months, and they are still bearing fruit.

The Gymnastic Societies were not and are not—for they still exist—secret societies in the common acceptation of the words; they were rather associations for the promotion of objects which, from a Bulgarian point of view, were quite legitimate, and they owed their origin to a peculiar state of affairs. Strangers were not admitted to the meetings, but no special means were adopted to insure secrecy. Unfortunately, some active, unscrupulous members of the advanced party, who were determined at all costs to force their views on the more moderate majority, decided to make use of the organization of the Gymnastic Societies in furtherance of their own plans. I have reason to believe that some of the leading Bulgarians who served on the Committees did not approve of the agitation which was being carried on in their names, or even know of some of the circulars until after they were issued. They appear, however, not to have had sufficient moral courage to make a stand against the doctrines which were being promulgated by the more active minority. The societies were found to encourage martial exercises among the Bulgarians and to promote union with Bulgaria; a secondary object was also to bring under some slight control the peasants who had been armed by the Russians. A Gymnastic Society held a meeting at Philippopoli in August 1878 to promote military exercises in the town, and in December of the same year a charter was granted by the Russian Superintendent of Police to the "Eagle National Gymnastic Society," in which the objects of the Society are fully described. In January 1879 General Stolipine issued his instructions for the formation of the Gymnastic Societies. The organization could not be maintained without considerable expense; the expenditure of a Central Committee, including the pay of members and clerks, office expenses, &c., was about 80*l.* per month, a large sum in a poor country. Money came in readily at first, and the agents of the societies were little noticed during the Russian occupation, but a time arrived when forced subscriptions had to be levied, and the agents then came into conflict with the finance department of the Government. The proceedings of the agents of the Gymnastic Societies were disclosed by M. Schmidt, and the result of his action was to throw discredit on the societies, which, since the publication of the Governor-General's Ordinance of November 1879, had become illegal. The Gymnastic Societies are still in existence; as late as the 1st February last new Rules were issued by the Philippopoli Society, and the advanced party continue their agitation to the great misfortune of the country, but there seems to be a general opinion that, as the subscriptions have been stopped, and some of the objects of the societies have been attained, the societies themselves will gradually disappear, or become modified in form. It may be added that many prominent members of the Committees now hold positions of great responsibility, and that they are not likely to allow the societies to obtain too much power.

The conversion of the Gymnasts into Reserves was a distinct violation of the Statute, but it made them subordinate to the Government, and was so far an improvement on the state of affairs which existed previously. The arms are the private property of the Bulgarians, and cannot be taken from them.

*Condition of the Moslems.*—In order to understand the position of the Moslems in Eastern Roumelia, it is necessary to remember what has passed during the last few years. From the first disturbance at Pangurishte (Othuk-Keui) in the spring of 1876 to the final advance of the Russians in December 1877 Turkish rule was dominant; many Bulgarians were murdered, the educated classes were either imprisoned or banished, large numbers of all classes emigrated, villages were burned or looted, and a large portion of the personal wealth of the Christians, as well as some real estate, passed into the hands of the Moslems. The Moslem villagers appear to have taken little part in these proceedings; the robberies and other crimes were chiefly committed by Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks, who were sometimes encouraged, if not actually led, by local Notables.

On the retreat of the Turks, Suleiman Pasha issued orders that the Moslem population was to leave the country, and the people were directed to burn their houses and take what they could with them. The issue of these orders has often been denied, but I was able to satisfy myself by personal observation that they had been circulated in all parts of Roumelia. The Russian advance was, however, so sudden that numbers of the villagers left their homes with nothing but what they had on them, whilst the great mass of refugees, who had taken their waggons with them, were intercepted at Hermanly. It is unnecessary to dwell on the

horrors of a retreat in the depth of winter; the result was an accumulation of refugees in a state of the greatest misery in Constantinople and in the Rhodope. Except in a few instances in the larger towns, the orders to burn their houses was not carried out by the Moslems.

As the Russian army passed onwards, the Bulgarians who had taken refuge in the mountains, or had emigrated, returned to their homes, and at once took possession of all the personal property of the Moslems, some of which had previously been stolen from themselves. The booty was in some cases very large, and the Préfet of Haskeui remarked to me as matter of satisfaction that the people of his district were well off in consequence of the large quantity of household utensils and other goods which they had taken from the deserted waggons at Hermanly. A general idea seems to have prevailed that the Moslems would not return, and all their property was looked upon as fair spoil; the Moslem quarters in several towns and villages were burned, or the wooden beams pulled from the houses to serve as fuel for the Russian armies, not necessarily by the Russians themselves, but by men who had contracted to supply fuel. When it became known that the Moslems were to return to the country, there appears to have been much excitement amongst the Bulgarians, and the villagers, worked upon by unscrupulous agitators, proceeded in many cases to destroy, as far as they could, everything belonging to the Moslems. I saw several instances in which the houses of the Moslem quarters of mixed villages had not only been burned, but razed to the ground and the material carried off, so that the sites were only marked by rank vegetation, and the huts of mud and brushwood erected by the returned refugees. It has sometimes been said that the Moslems destroyed more houses than the Bulgarians; no impartial observer, who has travelled through the country, could come to such a conclusion; the fact is quite the reverse.

During the Russian occupation many of the Moslem refugees returned to the country, but a large proportion of them left again in consequence of the treatment which they received at the hands of the Bulgarians. It would appear that the Russians had not sufficient troops to preserve order everywhere, and it is not unlikely that occasionally junior officers shut their eyes to what was going on. In one instance, the Moslem villagers told me that they had been escorted to their village by a party of Cossacks, in August 1878; that they had found some of their houses burned, and others occupied by Bulgarians, and that, as soon as the Cossacks had left, they were set upon and beaten by the Bulgarians, and the veils torn from their women, who were forced to join in the Bulgarian national dance. After two days of this treatment they fled again to Adrianople, and did not return till September 1879. There seem to have been many similar cases. Of the Russians themselves the Moslem refugees spoke in terms of praise, and in some places they regretted the termination of the Russian occupation. Matters were further complicated by the fact that large numbers of Bulgarians had been moved up by the Russians to Eastern Roumelia, or had voluntarily emigrated from the Vilayet of Adrianople when the terms of the Berlin Treaty became known, and that they had been settled down in the houses and on the lands vacated by the Moslems. These people naturally did not view the return of the refugees with any favour. During the occupation the Russian authorities, chiefly for reasons connected with the Commissariat, ordered the Bulgarians to plough and sow the lands vacated by the Moslems, at the same time directing that a certain percentage of the produce ("ijaret") should be given to the Moslem proprietors on their return. Unfortunately, the harvest collected last year was an almost total failure; flour had to be imported, and the Bulgarians, instead of being able to pay the "ijaret," had barely enough to live upon themselves.

There is no doubt that much of the suffering amongst the Moslem refugees last winter was due to this cause.

With the formation of the Eastern Roumelian Government and the termination of the Russian occupation a new state of affairs commenced; the Moslem refugees began to return in large numbers, and the Roumelian Government became responsible for their repatriation. It would serve no purpose to inquire further what occurred before this period, but I may mention that two districts, one in the Rhodope mountains and the other in the Balkans east of Aidos, did not suffer much from the effects of the war. In both these districts there was a compact Moslem population which did not emigrate, and, owing to various causes, the people, though disarmed by the Russians, were not molested during the occupation.

No accurate estimate can be made of the number of refugees that have returned,



but it is probably not much under 100,000. The repatriation of so many people would be no easy matter under favourable circumstances, but under those which existed last year, it was a work of extreme difficulty requiring much forethought and judgment. No one could suppose that after what had occurred the Bulgarians would receive the Moslems with open arms, and I think it is matter for regret that some special clause was not added to the Treaty of Berlin appointing a Special Commission to superintend the repatriation. It is hardly too much to say that, at first, the refugees were allowed to repatriate themselves as best they could; the Porte was anxious to get rid of the poor people who had for months been living on alms at Constantinople; and the Roumelian Government at first left the refugees very much to make their own arrangements with the Bulgarian villagers, who were armed whilst the refugees had been disarmed on entering the country. The consequence was, an amount of suffering amongst the refugees which it would be difficult to exaggerate. Those sufferings have been fully described by Mr. Michel, whose unceasing efforts to relieve the starving refugees were warmly acknowledged to me by several Bulgarian gentlemen.

It is only fair to say that the Roumelian Government found itself placed in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty. The Government had only recently been formed, the officials were nearly all without experience; there was little money in the chest, a large number of Bulgarian refugees had to be supported; and an exceptionally bad harvest gave great cause for anxiety. Under these conditions, a large pauper population was thrown upon the hands of the Government, and great excuses might have been made for any shortcomings if the Government had shown an inclination to grapple with the difficulty. Unfortunately, no such disposition was shown until attention had been pointedly called to the matter by the Agents of the European Powers at Philippopoli. There can, too, be no question that at this period there was a small but very active and influential party, the members of which, described to me as "false patriots" by some leading Bulgarians, were determined at all hazards to get rid of the Moslems; these men not able to act openly made use of the organization of the Gymnastic Societies to inflame the minds of the peasantry against the returning refugees, and many regrettable outrages occurred in which the sufferers were always Moslems. The object was to intimidate the Moslems and make them leave the country, for these people appear to have thought that waste land would be more beneficial to Eastern Roumelia than corn fields cultivated by Moslems. The extreme rancour displayed against the Moslems is apparent, from the fact that when people were frequently dying of famine a Bulgarian Reuter's agent sent a telegram to London, to the effect that no deaths from starvation had taken place. See "Blue Book, Turkey No. 5 (1880)," No. 217, p. 297.

The Government does not appear to have sanctioned these outrages, or to have shared the views of the party alluded to, but it was much to blame for not taking efficient steps to protect the refugees and punish the perpetrators of the outrages. It seems also to have shown great timidity in the face of men who, without the responsibility of office, were attempting, under the name of patriots, to mould the course of events according to their own theories.

Men of more moderate views were aware that the Bulgarian population was not large enough to cultivate the ground, and that the Moslem peasantry was necessary to the country. They also knew that the Moslem peasant was a quiet, orderly, hard-working man, and did not, in their dislike of everything Turkish, confound him with the official class, the Bashi-Bazouks and the Beys, from whom they had suffered so much. The views of the moderate party gradually prevailed, more generous regulations were framed for the repatriation of the refugees, a relief society was organized, and at the time of my visit everyone agreed that a marked improvement had taken place in the treatment of the Moslems, and that assaults upon them were much less frequent. The improvement dates from the beginning of May, and is attributed by some people to a desire on the part of the Bulgarians not to lose the sympathy of the Liberal party in England, from whose advent to power they hoped so much.

There have been isolated acts of violence against Moslems since May; such there must always be whilst the Bulgarians are armed and the Moslems unarmed, but the local administrative authorities appear to show more activity in preserving public order, and in some of the Departments I found officials animated by a very friendly feeling towards the Moslems.

The conclusion I came to was, that the acts of violence complained of by the

Moslems were, with the exception of the Kirdjali and Aïdos affairs, isolated crimes committed by Bulgarian villagers whose minds had been inflamed against the Moslems for political purposes by unscrupulous agitators. The Bulgarian peasant is naturally a quiet, peaceable, hard-working man, but being uneducated he is easily led by those he considers his superior in education and position, and having once been encouraged to ill-treat Moslems he does not readily lose the idea that he can act as he pleases. He is very amenable to authority, and if he were once convinced that the Government was in earnest in its efforts to suppress crime, and a few examples were made, the murders and other acts of violence would soon cease. Unfortunately, no proper steps are taken to discover and punish those who have committed crimes upon Moslems; the gendarmes rarely appear to do their duty properly in this respect, and the punishments awarded by the Courts are quite inadequate. On the other hand, when a Moslem commits a crime and a Bulgarian is the victim, the gendarmes act with vigour, sometimes with excess of zeal, and the Courts deal promptly with the matter.

When the Moslem refugees returned the great majority of them came back as paupers; they found that such of their oxen and sheep as had not been required for the use of the Russian troops, their household utensils, their agricultural implements, and, in fact, all their personal property, had passed into the hands of the Bulgarians and Greeks; their houses were for the most part destroyed or occupied by Bulgarian refugees from the Adrianople Vilayet, and their lands were in the possession of the Bulgarians, who had tilled them under the arrangements made by the Russians.

A small proportion of the refugees obtained possession of their houses and lands, and were able to till the latter; others obtained possession, but having no oxen or other means of cultivating their lands, rented them to the Bulgarians for a small payment in kind on the collection of the harvest, a very large proportion, however, could not obtain possession of their lands, and settled down in rude huts on the sites of their burned houses, trusting to sustain life by working as labourers for the Bulgarians, and by sowing small patches of Indian corn round their huts.

Apart from the Government employés, the Moslem population of Eastern Roumelia, before the war, consisted of:—

1. The wealthy Beys who oppressed the peasantry, Christian and Moslem, in a variety of ways, who were not amenable to the laws, and who, each in his district, lived like small Sultans, disposing almost as they wished of the lives and property of the poor.

2. The town population, which lived principally by letting their shops or lands to Christians on advantageous terms, men who rarely worked themselves and who passed their time gossipping and smoking at the cafés.

3. The peasantry, which is similar to the modern peasantry elsewhere; quiet, inoffensive, sober, very submissive to Government authority, hard-working, and accustomed to labour.

The Beys, several of whom were deeply compromised by the events of the war, have, as a rule, returned only to sell their property, or to make arrangements for renting it to Christians. Some, however, have determined to remain in the country, and I heard of one instance in which a Bey was buying up all the land he could. The Beys are said, in some cases, to have fostered ill-will towards the new Government amongst the peasants; there is probably much exaggeration in this view, but there is little doubt that the Beys have encouraged and not discouraged the ignorant peasants to sell their land and leave the country.

The townspeople have come back expecting to lead the same life as they did before, but they find everything changed. Their houses and shops have in many places been destroyed; their mosques have been burned or turned into store-houses, and they are no longer able to rent their lands on the same favourable terms. They are much discontented with their present position, but on the whole I found them settling down fairly well, and believe they have not much to complain of, as far as the action of the Local Government is concerned. In one instance, at Eski-Zaghra, the Moslems have been unfairly treated in the arrangements for the construction of the new town; in some towns the mosques are still used as magazines for the arms and ammunition of the militia or reservists; in others the graveyards have been desecrated by breaking off the turbans from the tombstones; in others, the Moslems find some difficulty in obtaining possession of their houses and property, and in nearly all great complaints were made to me of the manner in



which Bulgarians were favoured by the Judges when cases came before the Courts. As regards personal security, the townspeople have now nothing to complain of.

The lot of the peasant since his return has been very hard; the Beys, who should have been his natural protectors, have either left the country or take no interest in him, and the Local Governments, in most cases, do not trouble themselves about him; they issue orders, but do not seem to think it part of their duty to see and insist that those orders are carried out. The complaints of the peasants are as follows:—

1. That the Bulgarians are allowed to ill-treat them, and even murder them with impunity. There has, as mentioned above, been a marked improvement in regard to the treatment of the Moslems during the last three months, but in certain districts, the Department of Bourgas, for instance, there is still much to be desired, for murders and robberies are frequently committed, and no proper steps are taken to discover or punish the perpetrators when they are believed to be Bulgarians. Isolated crimes in other districts also go unpunished. The ill-treatment which the Moslems have received since their return is very evident from the fear which they now have of the Bulgarian peasants, and from the manner in which the latter speak to and behave to them.

The Moslem peasant now occupies very much the same position as the Bulgarian did before the war. It is only fair to say that the treatment of the Moslems differs very much in the various departments, and that in several places I saw Christians and returned Moslems living on terms of cordiality, the former helping the latter with food and material for building. If the Central Government were to act in earnest and the Local Governments were to show a little more energy in protecting Moslems, all cause for complaint would soon disappear. A greater display of energy on the part of the Administration would probably be followed by a healthier tone in the Criminal Courts; cases were brought to my notice in which Bulgarians had been acquitted when the clearest direct evidence was brought against them; others in which the punishment awarded for grave crimes was quite insignificant, and others in which the proceedings were drawn out to an inordinate length.

2. That the Bulgarians have, in many cases, taken possession of their houses and lands, and will not return them or pay the rent, "ijaret," to which they are entitled under the Russian agreement and the arrangements made this year. These complaints are, unfortunately, too true in the majority of cases, and the Moslems have no chance of obtaining redress in the Courts. The Local Governments often order the Bulgarians to give up the houses and lands, but the latter as frequently refuse, and the Government rarely proceeds to forcible ejectment. I was told that the Moslems could appeal to the Law Courts, but law proceedings are expensive, and if every refugee were to appear *in formâ pauperis* to claim his rights, the Courts would be clogged with cases for years to come. When cases are brought before the Civil Courts they drag on to a great length, even though the evidence may be of the simplest and most direct kind, and all the sympathies of the Judge are with the Bulgarian defendants, and not with the Moslem plaintiff. Many of the land cases are complicated, and the Bulgarians show such unwillingness to give up the Moslem lands they are now cultivating, and the Courts do so little to assist the Moslems in regaining their property, that I would beg to suggest the appointment of special Land Commissions in each of the departments, with full powers to settle all land questions definitely, and power to call upon the Administration to enforce ejectment when necessary, as almost the only means of dealing with the question. Such Commissions might consist of equal numbers of Christians and Moslems, the former nominated by the Eastern Roumelian Government, the latter by the Porte or by the Moslem communities in the departmental towns: a Report of the proceedings to be presented to the Provincial Assembly and to the Agents of the European Powers. The principal cases brought to my notice were—

(1.) Those in which Turkish Beys had encroached on the common lands of villages in former years, and now claimed them as their own.

(2.) Those in which Christian lands had been taken and appropriated by Moslems after the first massacres in 1876.

(3.) Those in which Bulgarians in mixed villages had taken Moslem lands, and would neither give them up nor pay rent.

(4.) Those in which Bulgarian refugees from Adrianople Vilayet had been settled down in the houses and on the lands of Moslems who had left their villages.

(5.) Those in which Bulgarians refused to vacate Moslem houses on the plea that they had repaired them and required compensation, which they assessed at a higher rate than the Moslems were able to pay, or than the facts warranted.

(6.) Those in which Bulgarian refugees had been settled in deserted Circassian or Tatar villages, and claimed lands which the Circassians had forcibly taken from the neighbouring villages.

(7.) Those in which Bulgarians had emigrated from other villages in Eastern Roumelia and settled down in the houses and on the lands of Moslems, and would not move, though ordered to do so by the Local Government.

(8.) Those in which lands held in common by Bulgarians and Moslems before the war are now claimed by the former exclusively as their own.

(9.) Those in which the Bulgarians had taken possession of mosques, and made use of them as churches, or for other purposes.

(10.) Those in which the Bulgarians had refused to pay the "ijaret" or rent, in accordance with the Russian agreement.

With regard to the "ijaret," it is certain that though in many cases it has been paid, as a rule it has not. Many Bulgarians admitted this to me, and gave an excuse, which I believe to be correct, that, owing to the failure of the harvest last year, they were unable to pay it. All the officials expressed their belief that the "ijaret" would be paid in full this year, when the harvest, which is a very good one, was reaped. I am afraid, however, that the Moslems will not receive their dues unless some steps are taken to protect their interests.

3. That the Bulgarians have, in many cases, destroyed their houses and taken possession of their personal property, much of which they see every day in the hands of their Bulgarian neighbours. No unprejudiced person can travel in Eastern Roumelia without seeing that an enormous number of the houses of the Moslem peasants have been destroyed purposely by the Bulgarian peasantry, and that the latter, as also the Greek villagers, have become possessed of the personal property of the former. So great, however, has been the general disturbance of property in the country, that it would be impossible, even if it were advisable, to attempt a redistribution. The only feasible plan seems to be that proposed, I believe, by the Provincial Assembly, viz., to raise a special loan for the purchase of stock, implements, &c., for the Moslems, and to establish agricultural banks, from which the Moslems might borrow money at a low rate of interest. The Moslem peasants have unfairly been accused of apathy and indolence in not at once commencing to rebuild their houses and till their fields. The case is really this: a Moslem perhaps with a wife and family returns to his village; he finds his house gone, his garden overgrown with weeds, and his land under cultivation by his Bulgarian neighbours. He has no money, no oxen to draw wood from the mountains for his house or to till his land, no agricultural or other implements to work with, no seed corn to sow, and often little to eat. The first thought of such a man is to throw up some sort of shelter for his family, and then, either by selling portions of his land or by hiring himself out as a labourer, to earn a livelihood.

It may, I think, be confidently said that unless some steps are soon taken to assist the Moslems there will be great suffering this winter, and next year will find everything in the same unsettled state.

4. That they receive no justice in the Courts when they appeal to them for assistance. This complaint appears to be generally well-founded; the Moslem now occupies the same position as the Christian did before the war, and I may add that the working of the Law Courts appeared to me to be one of the worst features in the Government of Eastern Roumelia. It is often said, and with great truth, that the Moslems do not understand the new system of Government, and that they constantly bring petitions to the Préfets and Baillis, expecting them to act as the Turkish officials did before the war. On the other hand, however, it does not appear that any attempt has been made to explain to the peasants the changes which have been made in the mode of Government, and the rights which they have acquired under the Organic Statute.

5. That they are not allowed to possess arms, whilst the Bulgarians can have as many as they please. The Moslems have now no means of protecting themselves when attacked either by peasants or bandits, and though a general armament of the Moslem population would not be advisable, the Eastern Roumelian Government would do well to follow the example of that of Bulgaria, and give ten or twelve rifles to each Moslem village under certain guarantees.

The complaints with respect to the elections, the conduct of the gendarmerie, &c., have been alluded to in a previous portion of the Report.



Briefly, the complaints of the Moslems relate to murders and assaults committed by Bulgarians; land disputes, loss of personal property, and maladministration of justice. The remedies which I would suggest are: greater efforts to prevent crime on the part of local authorities; an improved gendarmerie; the distribution of a certain number of arms to each Moslem village; the infliction of adequate punishment; the appointment of special Land Commissions, with full powers; assistance to the Moslems by a loan, and the establishment of agricultural banks; and some temporary arrangement for the protection of Moslem interests in the Civil Courts.

The views of the Moslems themselves are expressed in a petition addressed to the Agents of the European Powers in March last, and some suggestions were made for the improvement of their position in the "Philippopolis" of the 12th June last (see Appendix).

*Condition of the Greeks.*—One of the most painful facts which came under my notice in Eastern Roumelia was the bitter animosity which exists between the Bulgarians and Greeks. It displays itself on every occasion, and, with very few exceptions, I did not meet any Bulgarian or Greek who could discuss the relations of the two nationalities with calmness.

The small Greek minority has been treated by the Bulgarians with a harshness and a want of liberality which is much to be regretted, whilst the Greeks have rarely shown a conciliatory disposition, and have deeply offended the educated classes amongst the Bulgarians by claiming for themselves in a somewhat arrogant way the possession of a higher intellect and a more perfect language. The chief offence of the Greeks is, however, their opposition to Pan-Bulgarian ideas, in the realization of which they think they see their political effacement in Eastern Roumelia. The complaints of the Greeks are formulated in the petitions addressed to the Agents of the European Powers on the 13th September, 1879 ("Blue Book, Turkey No. 5, 1880," p. 77), on the [illegible], 1880, and in July 1880.

The most serious complaint is that with reference to the issue of a printed Circular forbidding Bulgarians to have any dealings with Greeks. The authenticity of this Circular ("Blue Book, Turkey No. 5, 1880," pp. 268-9), which was signed by D. N. Matefski for the President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Philippopoli Gymnastic Society, is beyond question, and it would be difficult to find anywhere a document more calculated to create disorders throughout the country. The Circular was read by Bulgarian priests in several villages, and the peasants were threatened with excommunication if they did not obey it. The results were several assaults upon Greeks, and a great interference with their trade. The Bulgarian peasant has become firmly impressed with the idea that every Greek is his mortal enemy, and it will be a long time before he loses this feeling. I do not for a moment think that the Bulgarian Metropolitan, M. Panaretos, knew of the Circular or authorized its proclamation, but the Bulgarian priests would hardly have adopted the course they did if they had not thought it would be pleasing to their superior. It is very much to be regretted also that M. Panaretos, when issuing his Pastoral of the [illegible]th March, 1880, which did much to allay the excitement of the peasantry, did not condemn the Circular in specific terms, and openly disapprove the action of the priests in reading an inflammatory document at the church doors, and threatening excommunication without his authority. The effect of the Circular is still evident in certain districts of Eastern Roumelia, where the Bulgarian peasants will not have any dealings with Greek traders. I am very sorry to say that I have good reason to believe that this illiberal feeling is sometimes actively incited and encouraged by officers and men of the gendarmerie and by other Government employés. In some Greek villages I heard that a dignitary of the Greek Church had been making a journey with the special view of urging the Greeks to live on terms of harmony with their neighbours, and it would be well if the Bulgarian Metropolitan were to adopt the same plan; until he does so, there is little hope that the Bulgarian and Greek peasantry will live together in harmony.

The complaints of the Greeks respecting the elections, the distribution of Government employ, the gendarmerie, &c., have already been alluded to, and it is only necessary to draw attention to the election riot at Stanimaka. The serious character of the riot was due to the presence of armed Bulgarian voters; yet in the steps which were taken to suppress it and punish the rioters the Government acted as if the Greeks were alone to blame. The Préfet of Philippopoli went at once to Stanimaka with a party of gendarmes, and having arrested several Greeks sent them to Philippopoli under escort. On reaching the town the Greeks were impri-

soned for a long time, with common criminals and condemned men, before they were brought to trial.

The Greek peasants have not much to complain of, and in one village they openly said that in some respects they were much better off under the present Government than they were before. With the educated classes it is different; they were much employed under the Turkish Government, and possessed a certain amount of power, which they did not always use in the most kindly way when a Bulgarian question came before them. They have now lost that power, and are naturally discontented.

It is to be hoped that the Government of Eastern Roumelia will now show a more conciliatory spirit in dealing with the Greeks, and that the Greeks may loyally accept their position as a small but intelligent minority of the population.

*Jews, Armenians, &c.*—At first some opposition was made to the return of the Jews who emigrated during the war, and they were ill-treated at Carlovo and Yeni-Zaghra. This feeling, however, appears to have died out, and I saw nothing in the condition of the Jews or of the Armenians which calls for remark.

*Kirdjali Affair.*—The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the events which occurred at Kirdjali, or rather in the district to the east of that town, has already been noticed more than once by Her Majesty's Consul-General and Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Philippopoli, so that it is unnecessary to do more than draw attention to some points which struck me during my recent visit.

The most important were that there had been, except in one case, no fighting, and that the character of the villages cannot be gathered from the Report.

The houses in the Kirdjali district, contrary to the custom elsewhere, are built with stone walls from 18 inches to 2 feet thick, and have tiled roofs; and in the villages each house stands separately in its own compound or garden. Such houses do not take fire very readily, and it is almost impossible that one house should catch fire from another. It was perfectly clear to me that every house that was burned must have been specially prepared for firing by placing inflammable material inside and lighted separately. This greatly aggravates the seriousness of the acts of which the militia and reservists have been accused.

I do not think there was ever anything like an organized insurrection in the Kirdjali district. A number of villages formerly belonging to the Vilayet of Adrianople were transferred, under the Treaty of Berlin, to Eastern Roumelia, and as the Boundary Commission never marked the frontier, and no one explained to the villagers the change that had been made, there was naturally some confusion. This was taken advantage of by Bashi-Bazouks from the Adrianople Vilayet and by some of the villagers to foment disturbances and commit robberies. There can, however, be no question that in February last a state of affairs existed which necessitated the intervention of an armed force. The Préfet of Haskeui does not seem to have acted with much tact or discretion in his intercourse with the people of Kirdjali; and at a later period he writes in a rather exaggerated manner of Colonel Baron de Toustain's being on the "champ de bataille," a field of battle on which the dead were helpless old men and women and the wounded outraged matrons and violated children. When the militia was called out and Captain Zacheroff was ordered to march to the troubled district, the matter passed out of the hands of the civil authorities and became a purely military operation, for the proper conduct of which the commanding officer was personally responsible.

Captain Zacheroff, on assuming the command, divided his men into three columns; he then, without legal authority, instructed the officers commanding the columns to call out armed men (Gymnasts) from some of the villages they passed to form a reserve, and issued a very inflammatory order of the day to the soldiers. The three columns advanced, and only in one case, where an officer allowed himself to be surprised whilst smoking and talking in the village of Babalar, was there any pretence of fighting. The two other columns advanced without firing a shot; in some cases the villagers came out to give them a friendly greeting, and there was, therefore, no excuse, such as the excitement of action, for the events which followed. On entering the villages no discipline was preserved; militia and Gymnasts were left to themselves, and they proceeded in cold blood to murder old men and women eighty years of age, to outrage married women and rape children, under circumstances of great brutality, to burn the houses and plunder the villagers.

There is absolutely no excuse for any of these crimes; the pretext that the houses were burned by accident, or caught fire from each other, cannot for a moment be accepted, and the Report does not attempt to excuse any other offence.



The entire responsibility for what occurred falls upon the officers, who proved themselves quite unfit to command troops. Captain Zacheroff is morally responsible for all that occurred, and personally responsible for the crimes committed by the column with which he marched, and every officer who commanded a separate detachment is directly responsible for the acts committed by his men. The Commission of Inquiry seems to have done its work well, but it would have been preferable if Colonel de Toustain, who authorized the retention of the Gymnasts, and was in the district when some of the crimes were committed, had been a witness, and not a member of the Commission.

The worst feature of the whole business is that, for reasons explained below, no attempt was made to try any of the officers or men by court-martial for the grave military crimes which had been committed, nor did the General Officer commanding the militia consider it his duty to publish a special general order condemning the want of discipline shown by the troops. In fact, the militia might very well take the silence and inaction of their General for approval of what they had done. It is a matter of serious moment to the Bulgarians that the first traditions of a militia, which ought to be a school of discipline and training for the nation, should be murder, rape, and arson, and that their crimes should not be publicly and strongly condemned by the General commanding.

Three of the officers compromised, who were foreigners, were dismissed from the service, but not apparently in a manner to imply disgrace; one of them was still at Haskeui, wearing the uniform of his country, when I passed through the town last month. Captain Zacheroff was at Philippopoli, and no steps were being taken to try him by court-martial, or even to hold a military Court of Inquiry. The excuse generally offered for not trying the officers and men by court-martial is, that there is no military law in Eastern Roumelia, but the Statute makes distinct provision for cases of this kind, by laying down that the Ottoman Military Code is to be used, and the objection to try officers and men of the Eastern Roumelian Militia by a Turkish Military Code should not for a moment be allowed to outweigh the manifest advantage of enforcing discipline and punishing military crimes.

The other offenders named by the Commission were handed over to the civil power, and the punishments which have been awarded are quite insignificant when the gravity of the offences is considered. I was told at Haskeui that the evidence against Sub-Lieutenant Dobref, accused of having mortally wounded a young unarmed Turk of 18 or 20, was insufficient, and that he was not to be tried; and also that the men who committed the rapes, arson, &c., could not be discovered. These excuses cannot be accepted by any one who has to deal with soldiers; when a small detachment marches into a village without fighting, and burns houses or violates women, the names of the offenders must be well known to officers and men, and if they are not found out and brought to justice, it is because the superior military authorities do not wish them to be punished.

*Aïdos Affair.*—The events said to have taken place near Aïdos during the first week of May last really occurred in the Canton of Anchialo. The Commission appointed by the Governor-General to inquire into the affair has issued its Report, but not the Protocols and evidence on which the Report was based. I am thus unable to say how far some of the details which differ from the information supplied to me are correct. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to a few remarks. In this case, as at Kirdjali and Dospat, there was much uncertainty as to the position of the boundary; the International Commission, in determining the boundary, assigned certain territory which had always belonged to the Messerria, now Anchialo Caza, in Roumelia, to Bulgaria, but they did not mark the line on the ground, or explain to the villagers the change that had been made, believing this to be the duty of the Bulgarian and Roumelian Governments. The villagers did not know of the change, and paid taxes to Eastern Roumelia until May, when some Bulgarian irregulars, without any warning, advanced to occupy the village of Bellova (Bélibé). Most of the men were away at the time, praying for rain; but those who remained, believing the irregulars to be brigands, fired upon them. Regular Bulgarian troops then came up and occupied the village, when some more fighting took place between the troops and Moslems, including, it is believed, Choban Hassan, who had returned from the village where they had been praying. The village was afterwards plundered and burned by the Gymnasts of Galitza (Süjüluk) and Erketch, who had been ordered to proceed thither by the Préfet of Bourgas. The women, children, and some of the men were carried off by the

Bulgarians to Kŏpri-keui, and kept there some weeks. Great complaints were made of the outrages committed upon the women by the Bulgarian troops.

The day after the sacking of Bellova, the Bulgarian troops advanced into the territory of Eastern Roumelia, and though they took no active part in the proceedings, they protected, by their presence, the villagers of Süjüluk and Erketch, who proceeded to burn and plunder the villages of Nadirlar and Yussuf Chabanlar, whence the inhabitants had fled on the burning of Bellova, on the other side of the valley. The troops now retired; but in the meantime the Moslems had taken alarm, and, flying from their villages, took refuge at Bünänjik, at the southern foot of the Balkans, and at the villages on the sea-coast. The villagers of Süjüluk, Erketch, and Alchakdéré took advantage of the flight to plunder and burn other villages.

I would beg particularly to call attention to the action of the Préfet of Bourgas, and Captain Popovitch, commanding the Anchialo gendarmes, who, knowing what had occurred at Kirdjali under similar circumstances, called out the Gymnasts of Süjüluk and Erketch, and then ran away to Varna, leaving the Greek Bailli of Anchialo with only four gendarmes out of the ten or twelve they had with them to deal with the whirlwind they had raised as best he might. There was not even the slightest pretence of placing the Gymnasts under any control; a gendarme was merely sent to tell them to go and fight against the Turks, an order which they quickly obeyed. Captain Popovitch, on his return from Varna, appears to have behaved in a most extraordinary manner; according to information given to me, he not only refused to send gendarmes into the Balkans, but publicly expressed his regret that all the Moslem villages, and especially the large village of Bünündjik, had not been burned. This same Captain Popovitch had at one time been Commissary of Police at Anchialo; he was removed from thence for some offence, but a few weeks afterwards was appointed Captain in the Gendarmerie, and sent back to command the gendarmes at Anchialo. It may easily be understood that his relations with the Bailli were not very good even before the disturbance.

The Bailli of Anchialo does not appear to have displayed the vigour or promptness which might have been expected from him in a sudden emergency, and nothing can excuse the traffic which was carried on by the Greeks at Bünündjik in buying at nominal prices the effects of the Moslem villagers. The Report somewhat unfairly makes the Greek Bailli the scapegoat of the whole affair, and omits all mention of the disgraceful circumstances attending his arrest on two occasions afterwards, and of a private letter from the Préfet, in which he was enjoined to do nothing which might irritate the people of Erketch. This letter was handed to the Commission.

I was informed by independent witnesses that the gendarmes sent to the Balkans to try and prevent the Moslems from leaving their villages were fired upon by the Gymnasts of Erketch and Süjüluk, though they were wearing the gendarmerie uniform at the time; and also that the villages were plundered and burned in the most deliberate manner. The villagers of Süjüluk, Erketch, and Alchak-Déré brought their "arabas" with them to carry off the plunder.

One of the most unpleasant features is the ingratitude shown by the Bulgarian villagers. The district is one that is almost purely Moslem, yet during the whole of the troubled times, before and during the war, when the unarmed Bulgarians were entirely at the mercy of the Moslems, not a single Bulgarian house was burned or robbed, and, as the Assistant Maire of Erketch told me, their Moslem neighbours often protected their flocks and oxen from the raids of the Circassians. When peace was declared the Moslems were disarmed, and the Bulgarians were allowed to arm themselves: Martinis were sold for 4 roubles each at Bourgas, and now every Bulgarian house has a small armoury. The consequences soon made themselves felt, and for the last two years murders of Moslems and robberies of various kinds have never ceased. Not long before my visit a Moslem woman was shot in a most deliberate way at midday; on the day I was at Kadiklar the Bulgarians were pasturing their animals in the maize crop of the village, and there was not a Moslem village in the district which had not to complain of robberies of sheep, oxen, &c., by the villagers of Süjüluk, Erketch, and Alchak-Déré. This portion of the Balkans is in quite an exceptional state, one that I am glad to say does not exist elsewhere in Eastern Roumelia. The three villages named above are little better than nests of robbers and bandits, and unless the Government makes vigorous efforts to stamp out the evil there is no hope of improvement. The only



way to meet the difficulty is to disarm the Bulgarians, or arm the Moslems to inflict capital punishment for murder; or in the event of the authors of the robbery or murder of Moslems not being found, to levy a heavy fine on the nearest Bulgarian village. Steps should at once be taken to obtain better recruits for the gendarmerie, and to enlist a larger number of Moslems; the Bulgarian lads I met in the Balkan villages, though they will make good men in a few years' time, are at present quite unfit to maintain order amongst the armed Bulgarian villagers.

The condition of the Moslems who had been burned out of their villages is in many cases very sad: the people of Bellova are scattered amongst the other villages; when they tried to reap their harvest they were driven off by the villagers of Süjüluk, who gathered it for themselves; the men of Karamandja are not allowed to reap their fields because they lie in Bulgaria whilst their village is in Roumelia. In some places I found families, scantily clad, living amongst the charred ruins of their houses, under slight screens of brushwood; they had lost almost everything, and had not even a knife or axe to cut wood with, or money to buy one. On the sea-coast there were numbers who were afraid to return in a great state of distress, and I was told that others had gone to Moslem villages further inland.

I may add that there has never been any rebellion in the Balkans; the so-called rebels or bandits are chiefly discharged soldiers, who on their return found their houses destroyed, or men who have been driven to the hills by the mismanagement of the local authorities. I believe, from what I heard, that these men would willingly leave the country if they were not afraid of being murdered on their way to the coast, or at any rate that little persuasion would soon induce them to do so.

In conclusion, I would beg to remark that the Bulgarians, on the whole, produced a very favourable impression upon me. I believe that they have considerable capacity for self-government, and that in a few years great advances will have been made, but if they wish to win the sympathy of Europe they must make more vigorous efforts to check evils which many of them acknowledge to exist, and remember that though majorities may have their rights they have also their duties to perform towards the minorities.

(Signed) C. W. WILSON, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
*Her Majesty's Consul-General in Anatolia.*

*August* 26, 1880.

Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

Statistique Officielle de la Population dans la Roumélie Orientale.

DÉPARTEMENT DE PHILIPPOPOLI.

| Noms des Districts. | Turcs. | Grecs. | Pomaks. | Arméniens. | Israélites. | Des Enfants Bulgares. | Des Enfants Grecs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. |
| Ville de Philippopoli | 2,745 / 2,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Philippopoli (Région Tête) | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Karlova (Karnalja-Dere) | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Rodopes | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Sredna Gora | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Tchirpan | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Yeni-Zaghra | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kezanlik | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Hadji Elles | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Hermanli | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kirdjali | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Eski-Zaghra | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kezanlik | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Chipka | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Tchirpan | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Yeni-Zaghra | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kezanlik | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Hadji Elles | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Hermanli | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kirdjali | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Eski-Zaghra | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |

DÉPARTEMENT DE SLIVNO.

| Noms des Districts. | Turcs. | Grecs. | Pomaks. | Arméniens. | Israélites. | Des Enfants Bulgares. | Des Enfants Grecs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. |
| Ville de Slivno | 2,745 / 2,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Slivno | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Yamboli | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kotel | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kizil Agatch | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kavakli | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |

DÉPARTEMENT DE BOURGAS.

| Noms des Districts. | Turcs. | Grecs. | Pomaks. | Arméniens. | Israélites. | Des Enfants Bulgares. | Des Enfants Grecs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. |
| Ville de Bourgas | 2,745 / 2,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Bourgas | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Aidos | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Achtido | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Karnabad | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |

DÉPARTEMENT DE TATAR-BAZARDJIK (ESKI-ZAGHRA).

| Noms des Districts. | Turcs. | Grecs. | Pomaks. | Arméniens. | Israélites. | Des Enfants Bulgares. | Des Enfants Grecs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. |
| Ville de Tatar-Bazardjik | 2,745 / 2,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Tatar-Bazardjik | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Ichtiman | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Panagur | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Peshera | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Conrivitz | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |

DÉPARTEMENT DE HASKEUI.

| Noms des Districts. | Turcs. | Grecs. | Pomaks. | Arméniens. | Israélites. | Des Enfants Bulgares. | Des Enfants Grecs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. |
| Ville de Haskeui | 2,745 / 2,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Haskeui | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Hadji Elles | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Hermanli | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kirdjali | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |

DÉPARTEMENT DE ESKI-ZAGHRA.

| Noms des Districts. | Turcs. | Grecs. | Pomaks. | Arméniens. | Israélites. | Des Enfants Bulgares. | Des Enfants Grecs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. | Hommes. / Femmes. |
| Ville de Eski-Zaghra | 2,745 / 2,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Eski-Zaghra | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Kezanlik | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Chipka | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Tchirpan | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |
| Canton de Yeni-Zaghra | 3,745 / 3,745 | 2,480 / 2,480 | 145 / 145 | 647 / 647 | 541 / 541 | 1,294 / 1,294 | 1,294 / 1,294 |

Pour copie conforme et traduction conforme:
Le Chef de la Chancellerie de la Direction de l'Intérieur,
(Signé) P. DIMITHOFF.



## List of Officials employed in the Direction of the Interior of Eastern Roumelia.

| Departments. | Description of their Office. | Name. | Nationality. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Philippopoli .. .. | Prefect .. .. | Consoloff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Secretary .. .. | H. Vlasakoff .. .. | " |
| | Councillors .. | Granuchglardan .. | Greek. |
| | | Kableskof .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| Slivno .. .. .. | Prefect .. .. | Stamboloski .. .. | " |
| | Secretary .. .. | Grekoff .. .. | " |
| | Councillors .. | Arif Effendi .. .. | Turk. |
| | | P. Mirkovitch .. | Bulgarian. |
| Bourgas .. .. .. | Prefect .. .. | Dr. Youcoloff .. | " |
| | Secretary .. .. | Dagoroff .. .. | " |
| | Councillors .. | Bechidi .. .. | Greek. |
| | | Ismail .. .. | Turk. |
| Tatar Bazardjik .. .. | Prefect .. .. | Izankoff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Secretary .. .. | Meshaikoff .. .. | " |
| | Councillors .. | Govanoff .. .. | " |
| | | Popoff .. .. | " |
| Haskeui .. .. .. | Prefect .. .. | Ratkoff .. .. | " |
| | Secretary .. .. | Kocheff .. .. | " |
| | Councillors .. | Basil Effendi .. | Turk. |
| | | Petroff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| Eski-Zaghra .. .. | Prefect .. .. | Markoff .. .. | " |
| | Secretary .. .. | A. Tiuff .. .. | " |
| | Councillors .. | Shefket Bey .. .. | Turk. |
| | | Manoff .. .. | Bulgarian. |

| Departments. | Cantons. | Bailiis of Cantons. | Nationality. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Philippopoli .. .. | Philippopoli .. .. | Wassakoff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Carlova .. .. | Maidenoff .. .. | " |
| | Ovchok .. .. | Milkoff .. .. | " |
| | Rodopee .. .. | Mehmet Bey .. .. | Turk. |
| | Serni Gorski .. .. | Stoinefski .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Shaimako .. .. | Kourtovitch .. .. | Greek. |
| Slivno .. .. .. | Slivno .. .. | Grekoff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Yamboli .. .. | N. Michaeloff .. | " |
| | Kotel .. .. | K. Baichoff .. .. | " |
| | Kizil Agatch .. .. | Petkoff .. .. | " |
| | Kavakli .. .. | D. Hamzeadi .. | Greek. |
| Bourgas .. .. .. | Bourgas .. .. | Dagoroff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Aidos .. .. | Hussein Zade .. | Turk. |
| | Achtido .. .. | Pakalidi .. .. | Greek. |
| | Karnabad .. .. | Kojouxaroff .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| Tatar Bazardjik .. .. | Tatar Bazardjik .. | Michailoff .. .. | " |
| | Ichtiman .. .. | Kaharoff .. .. | " |
| | Panagur .. .. | Dinu Gendoff .. | " |
| | Peshera .. .. | Popoff .. .. | " |
| | Conrivitz .. .. | Pavloff .. .. | " |
| Haskeui .. .. .. | Haskeui .. .. | Kochaff .. .. | " |
| | Hadji Elles .. .. | Dammanoff .. .. | " |
| | Hermanli .. .. | Beleheff .. .. | " |
| | Kirdjali .. .. | Usuph Mehmet .. | Turk. |
| Eski-Zaghra .. .. | Eski-Zaghra .. .. | Iliefl .. .. | Bulgarian. |
| | Kezanlik .. .. | P. Ivanoff .. .. | " |
| | Chirpan .. .. | N. Ivanoff .. .. | " |
| | Yeni-Zaghra .. .. | N. Pachoff .. .. | " |

Inclosure 5 in No. 6.

*Extract from the "Philippopolis" of June 12, 1880.*

*Suggestions for Improving the Condition of the Mostems.*

VOICI maintenant ce que nous pensons qu'il y aurait à faire pour relever ces gens de la prostration dans laquelle ils sont:—(1) de les aider tant soit peu à reconstruire leurs maisons démolies; (2) de leur faire avoir la moitié du rendement des récoltes ainsi qu'il

a été stipulé; (3) de les faire rentrer en possession de leurs maisons, "tarlas," vignes, prairies, &c., injustement et illégalement détenues; (4) de les aider à avoir les revenus que ces propriétés ont jusqu'à présent rapportés; (5) de faire à ce que l'honorable Gouvernement donne une certaine assistance à ceux des "Mouhadjirs" qui se trouvent dans un dénûment complet; et (6) de faire avoir la sécurité voulue qui, pour les Musulmans, fait complètement défaut.

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Inclosure 6 in No. 6.

*Expropriation Case at Eski-Zaghra.*

THE town of Eski-Zaghra is to be rebuilt upon the American plan of right-angled streets. The ground is to be bought from the owners by the Municipality at prices fixed by a Commission. These prices vary from 2, 1½, 1, and ½ piastre per square metre (about 10¾ square feet). The land thus bought is to be resold by auction.

The Turks complain that the Assessment Commission, consisting as it did entirely of Bulgarians, have overvalued land belonging to Christians, and undervalued that belonging to Moslems, although the land of the latter was better situated and more valuable. They say, too, that they are unable in their present poverty-stricken state to bid against the Bulgarians, and that therefore the best land is passing out of their hands. In addition to this, they assert that the Municipality is making immense profit by the resale of the land, the price of which has been undervalued. For instance, land bought by the Municipality of Turks for 500 piastres has been resold to Bulgarians for 3,500 piastres, which profit the Turks think should fall to them.

On the other hand, the Municipality has left some twenty quarters entirely to Turks, where no Bulgarian can bid against them.

The Turks complain also that their water-rights have been taken away from them, the Municipality having determined that water shall be laid on to every house in equal proportions.

The Organic Statute provides that an Expropriation Bill shall be brought before the Provincial Assembly next Session, and until it is passed and becomes law the proceedings of the Commission at Eski-Zaghra would appear to be illegal.

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No. 7.

*Mr. Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 91. Political.)
*Salonica, August* 25, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, extract from a letter from my correspondent at Kacianik—a small Albanian township in the Vilayet of Corsova—relative to the proceedings of the Albanian League.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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Inclosure in No. 7.

*Extract from a Letter from Mr. Blunt's Correspondent at Kacianik, dated August* 19, 1880.

THE Albanians here are very quiet, and keep the greatest secrecy as to their intentions. One thing, however, they say openly, and that is, that they are leagued together to resist to their last man any cession of territory, and for this purpose they have bound in every man from 17 to 60.

They do not intend to ask any money or men from the Porte; the only thing they ask for are arms and ammunition, and two Pashas, Dervish and Osman (these they have already asked for, I believe).

They refuse to accept any of the new laws, or newly-appointed judicial inspectors, who, in reality, have all been turned away. They want to be governed according to the old system, *i.e.*, a Pasha, Cadi, Mufti, and local Medjliss, and no one else. The national Albanian costume is to be obligatory. No more pantaloons and frock coats! The severest measures are enacted against outlaws. An instance: this last week it was reported that a villager of Staro-Kacianik (two hours from here) had received and given refuge to two well-known brigands.

A meeting of the members of the League took place in the konak at Kacianik, and



notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bewildered Kaïmakam, it was decided to go in a body and burn the man's house, and this was done *sur le champ*, the brigands escaping. They were not in the house, but in the barn.

The members of the League with whom I have spoken, all very respectable people, assured me that the railway would always be protected.

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No. 8.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 796.)
*Paris, August* 31, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour, on the 29th instant, to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 1200 of the previous day, and, this morning, printed copies of the draft instruction for Her Majesty's Admiral, modified in accordance with the suggestions which have been made by the Austrian Government.

I have this morning addressed a note to the French Government, communicating to them a copy of the modified draft instruction, and I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the note.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure in No. 8.

*Mr. Adams to Vice-Admiral Jauréguiberry.*

*Paris, August* 31, 1880.

M. le Ministre,

WITH reference to the note which I had the honour to address to your Excellency on the 14th August, transmitting to you a draft of the instructions which Her Majesty's Government had prepared for the Admiral in command of the Mediterranean Station in regard to the proposed naval demonstration, I am now instructed by Earl Granville to communicate to your Excellency another draft of instructions for Her Majesty's Admiral, modified in accordance with certain suggestions which have been made by the Austrian Government.

Her Majesty's Government have every reason to believe that these instructions will now be adopted by the Governments of the other Powers, but as the French Government still hesitate about giving orders to their Admiral, I am further instructed, in communicating the modified draft to your Excellency, to point out that it is only intended to insist on the immediate surrender of Dulcigno, and to inquire whether the French Government is prepared under these circumstances also to adopt them, or, if not, in what form they propose to send instructions to the French Admiral, so as to give as little publicity as possible to any divergence which may exist with regard to the extent of the action in which the French vessels of war may take part.

Her Majesty's Government presume that the Admiral will in any event be directed to be present with the ships under his command off Dulcigno, and to take part in any communications which it may be decided should be made to the Turkish authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 9.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 197.)
(Telegraphic.)
*Therapia, August* 31, 1880.

FOLLOWING is repetition of first paragraph of my telegram No. 194:—

"Secret.

"Sultan sent Aide-de-camp to me to-night with letter from Private Secretary, stating that His Majesty would see with pleasure that English Consul at Scutari should assist mission of General Riza Pacha. Whilst giving hopes that this assistance will facilitate solution of pending question, he expresses his desire that I should instruct Consul to second efforts of the General."

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No. 10.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1, 2 P.M.)*

(No. 198 ?.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 1, 1880, 3·4 A.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 196, First Dragoman called on Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day to ascertain whether Sultan had accepted proposal communicated to me yesterday respecting Montenegrin frontier. His Excellency made the following statement:—

Izzet Pasha telegraphed yesterday that Albanians were quieting down as regards [surrender of] Dulcigno, but finding them resisting as to Hoti, Dinosi, and Matakosh, the Pasha had taken the English and Austrian Consuls into council. They fell in with his views, and were prepared to declare that the only practical solution was to surrender Dulcigno and to maintain the *status quo* as to the remainder, that is to say, that the Albanians should retain Dinosi, Hoti, and Matakosh, and that the Montenegrins should keep the positions which they already occupy. The line between the two should serve as the definitive frontier.

The Council of Ministers is proposing a resolution in this sense, which the Sultan is ready to accept.

Your Lordship will observe that this is a fresh variation on the previous proposals. Yesterday Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke of accepting the line proposed by the Powers, with two exceptions. To-day the proposal is the actual line between the posts occupied by Montenegrins and Albanians respectively. From what Minister for Foreign Affairs has told my colleagues and myself, there is great unwillingness to surrender Dulcigno till Powers declare that the Albanians shall keep the rest. Every day's delay in giving the Porte a definite reply seems to call forth a fresh plan from the Turks.

(Sent to Mr. Green.)

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No. 11.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 7.)
(Telegraphic.) *Sophia, September 1, 1880.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 6 of the 28th ultimo, M. Zancoff assures me positively that there is no truth in the report that the Bulgarian Government had advanced 60,000*l.* to Eastern Roumelia. He added that no application for the money had been made, and if it had it would have been refused.

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No. 12.

*Mr. Hunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Odessa, September 1, 1880.*

IN answer to your Lordship's telegram, I have the honour to state that no large number of non-commissioned officers were sent from this port lately. It is stated that in May two steamers of the volunteer fleet took a large number of officers and soldiers, supposed for Bourgas. I am trying to ascertain true destination; on finding out will telegraph.

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No. 13.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 141.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 1, 1880.*

THE Turkish Ambassador has intimated to me very plainly that his Government in their offer about the Montenegrin frontier mean that the line east of the lake should be the line of the words of the Treaty, and not that of the Commission; but he has not stated this to the Austrian Government.

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No. 14.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1, 2 P.M.)*

(No. 119.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 1, 1880, 11·15 A.M.*

ITALIAN Admiral has been furnished with instructions in accordance with your Lordship's despatch No. 482.

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No. 15.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1.)*

(No. 120.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 1, 1880.*

YOUR telegram No. 510.

Italian Government have already given instructions in the sense suggested.

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No. 16.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 454.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 1, 1880, 3·15 P.M.*

YOURS No. 195 of yesterday.

Admiralty are ready to postpone survey of Gulf of Xeros, and will send orders to that effect if thought advisable.

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No. 17.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 1, 1880, 3·20 P.M.*

HAVE you ascertained the precise position of your colleagues as regards instructions to sign a self-denying Protocol, and the form in which it should be drawn?

All the Powers have agreed to the proposal in principle, but the matter seems to be hung up, and it might be well to push it on. Let me have your opinion.

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No. 18.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1, 6 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Salonica, September 1, 1880, 1 P.M.*

TURKISH correspondent of "Manchester Guardian" telegraphed from Uscup that Sunday last Bulgarian band [s] entered Turkish territory from point near junction of Servian and Bulgarian frontiers, and that Turks are establishing military cordon round threatened districts.

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No. 19.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 1, 6·45 P.M.)*

(No. 75.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 1, 1880, 5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 428.

French Government have received similar communication from Austrian Chargé d'Affaires.

They are ready to accept proposed Austrian answer to Porte if other Powers do.

I told [? French] Minister for Foreign Affairs that Germany and Her Majesty's Government were willing to agree if the other Powers consent.

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No. 20.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 1, 7·30 P.M.)

(No. 76.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 1, 1880, 5·5 P.M.

FRENCH contingent reaches Toulon this evening, and will be ready to leave by 5th. They will proceed to Ragusa, if that is the general rendezvous.

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No. 21.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 1, 8 P.M.)

(No. 77.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 1, 1880, 6 P.M.

FRENCH Government wish to frame modified instructions with as little divergence as possible from the English. But they still desire to keep to the alternative originally proposed by Her Majesty's Government, that the decisions in ordinary matters shall be taken by a majority, though they agree that, in maritime operations, the senior officer in rank should command.

In the last line but three of the last paragraph but two, they will, I believe, change "on his responsibility" to "in agreement with the other Commanders." I hope to receive their modified instructions in time for post to-morrow.

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No. 22.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 424. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September* 1, 1880.

Sir,

AS you are aware, the Powers have agreed in principle to the signature of a self-denying Protocol, but the matter appears to have been lately rather lost sight of, and Her Majesty's Government would be glad to have your Excellency's opinion as to whether it might not be advisable to expedite the negotiations on this subject.

I should also wish to be informed what is the precise position of your Excellency's colleagues as regards instructions to sign such a Protocol, and the form in which the instrument should be drawn.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 23.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 99.)
*Foreign Office, September* 1, 1880.

Sir,

THE Lords of the Admiralty sent written orders on the 28th ultimo to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour to proceed to Ragusa with an iron-clad and a dispatch boat in addition to his flag-ship; and I have to instruct you to put yourself in communication with the Admiral as soon as he arrives at that port, and to place your services at his disposal.

Copies of the instructions addressed to the Admiral by Her Majesty's Government will be forwarded to you as soon as they have received the assent of the other Powers, and I have to request you to afford him such information and advice as he may require in carrying them out.

Duplicate copies of the communications which have passed between the Powers and the Porte on the Montenegrin frontier question are inclosed for your information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 24.

*Earl Granville to Captain Sale.*

(No. 26.)
*Foreign Office, September* 1, 1880.

Sir,

WRITTEN orders were sent by the Lords of the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour on the 28th ultimo to proceed to Ragusa, and I have to request you to hold yourself in readiness to start for that place as soon as the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, which you will convey to the Admiral, have been agreed to by the other Powers whose ships are to take part in the demonstration.

You will, after delivering the instructions to the Admiral, place yourself at his disposal, and afford him all the information and assistance in your power.

You should arrange with Lieutenant Caillard to meet you at Dulcigno, and you will place his services also at the disposal of Sir Beauchamp Seymour in the event of their being required.

I inclose, for your information, copies of the communications which have passed between the Powers and the Porte on the subject of the Montenegrin frontier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 25.

*Sir J. Pauncefote to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)
*Foreign Office, September* 1, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to your Confidential letter of the 28th instant, stating that written orders have been sent to Admiral Sir B. Seymour to proceed to Ragusa, I am directed by Earl Granville to inform you that Captain Sale, R.E., will hold himself in readiness to convey to the Admiral at Ragusa the instructions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the naval demonstration as soon as the assent of the Powers to the amended instructions has been received.

Copies of the instructions addressed to Captain Sale and to Mr. Kirby Green are inclosed for your information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

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No. 26.

*Memorandum by Captain Sale.*

THE special value attached to the position of Matagos by the Turks is no doubt due to the fact, that with Matagos they would hold sole possession of the chain of hillocks on the Podgorička plain which are situated close to the village of Vranja.

These hillocks were fortified by the Turkish troops in 1879, and in no small degree contribute to the strength of the position which the Albanians now occupy.

They also command a very considerable proportion of the plain of Podgorička.

According to the Dulcigno compromise, and also according to the decision of the majority of the Boundary Commission, these hillocks were to be neutralized by making the frontier-line pass along their crests in the manner indicated in the map.

As Matagos itself is admitted by the Turks themselves to be an almost purely Slav village, no doubt the real reason for demanding possession of it is to be enabled thereby to retain the fortified position of Vranja in its entirety.

The district of Hotti is already included in Albania under the Dulcigno arrangement, but it seems probable that the Turks may very likely mean to use the term in such an elastic manner as to claim land extending almost, if not quite, up to the boundary line originally proposed by the Turkish Commissioners in 1879.

(Signed) M. T. SALE, *Captain, R.E., Commissioner.*

*September* 2, 1880.

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No. 27.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 2, 11·45 A.M.)*

(No. 83.) *Cettinjé, September 2, 1880, 7 A.M.*
(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your telegram No. 61 of the 28th ultimo, Prince Nicholas informs me that if Dulcigno is to be surrendered pacifically he could be ready to take possession after eight days' notice, but that if otherwise it would depend on position of affairs in the district in question for His Highness to give a positive answer about the nature of and time necessary for his preparations.

I return to Scutari to-day.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 28.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 2.)*

(No. 8.) *Sophia, September 2, 1880.*
(Telegraphic.)

VICE-CONSUL at Varna reports arrival of about thirty Russian officers since 5th ultimo. He also says movement of Russian officers between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia is greatly on the increase.

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No. 29.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 2, 6·30 P.M.)*

(No. 78. Confidential.) *Paris, September 2, 1880, 4 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)

I HOPE to send French instructions to Admiral this evening by private hand. The divergence is to the effect I telegraphed yesterday. For all practical purposes, the French Government hope that this divergence will not become visible, but they cannot, in view of public opinion, agree that the command-in-chief should be given, in military matters, to any one Admiral, and they are obliged to guard themselves against any expression which might look like a resort to violence.

There are also confidential instructions which I am promised, and which will be only communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

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No. 30.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 425.) *Foreign Office, September 2, 1880.*
Sir,

HER Majesty's Government have read with much interest the Report contained in your Excellency's despatch No. 257 of the 17th instant upon the general situation of affairs at Constantinople, and upon the feeling that now prevails there as regards this country.

Her Majesty's Government have from the commencement fully appreciated the difficulties with which Her Majesty's Ambassador would have to contend in pursuing the course they have felt it their duty to adopt towards the Porte. But it appeared to them that a different policy would almost infallibly have resulted in difficulties and dangers of a character even more serious.

It was not to be anticipated that pressure could be exercised by the Powers for the speedy execution of arrangements necessarily distasteful to Mussulman public feeling, without exciting irritation against the Powers taking part in it. It was clear from the first that if the Porte proved unwilling, as it almost certainly would, such pressure to be efficacious must assume, to the general public at least, an appearance almost of hostility. But Her Majesty's Government deliberately chose the alternative of promoting combined action by the Powers for the settlement of outstanding questions, rather than leave them to be a standing cause of danger to the general peace of Europe, as well as to the security



of the Ottoman Empire. Whether the course they have adopted will prove successful remains to be seen. That for the present, at all events, it should recommend itself at Constantinople to any but the more enlightened and far-seeing of Turkish statesmen was scarcely to be expected.

The same considerations apply equally to the question of reforms in Turkish administration. The experience of the last few years, and the knowledge which has been acquired through the reports of Her Majesty's Consular officers, all tend to show that to a large proportion of the governing class in Turkey these reforms must in themselves be inconvenient and disadvantageous. It would be sanguine indeed to expect that measures of this kind will be adopted and honestly executed out of feelings of friendship towards a foreign Government. It is only under the pressure of proved necessity, from a conviction of impending disaster, or, at least, from a sense of personal or national self-interest, that honest and energetic efforts at reform can be hoped for. Unless one or other of these conditions be present, the representations of Her Majesty's Ambassador, in whatever esteem he and his Government may be held, are not likely to elicit more than specious replies to be succeeded, as has so often been the case, by more or less complete disappointment as to practical results.

It would not be difficult to find instances of comparatively recent date, when the friendship between the two Governments was supposed to be unimpaired, and when that of England might be believed to be of great value to the Porte, in which representations made by Her Majesty's Government failed to have any practical effect.

Her Majesty's Government have full confidence in your Excellency's judgment, and they leave it to your discretion to choose the best time and manner of representing individual abuses, and urging the adoption of measures of reform. They agree with you, that it is undesirable that these representations should be multiplied too much, and they would suppose that it would be best to limit them to the more important and flagrant cases in which the desirability of action by the central Government would seem self-evident.

On their own part they will neglect no proper opportunity of making it apparent that the object and aim of their policy is to secure the tranquillity of the Ottoman Empire, and the prosperity and contentment of its populations, and they trust that that policy, when it comes to be recognized and understood, may restore the old friendship and confidence so long existing between the two countries which is so desirable in the interests of both of them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 31.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, September 2, 1880.*
Sir,

WITH reference to Lord Granville's letter of the 12th ultimo, I am directed by his Lordship to request you to move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to cause the second paragraph of the inclosed draft to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, informing him that Mr. Kirby Green and Captain Sale have been instructed to place their services at his disposal, to be omitted.

Owing to the changes in the Admiral's instructions, this paragraph, which relates to communications with the Albanian leaders, will no longer be required.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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No. 32.

*Consul Freeman to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3.)*

(No. 6.) *Serajevo, August 26, 1880.*
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, on the occasion of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria's birthday, an announcement was made that all the grain which had been advanced for seed to the returned refugees and other distressed peasants would not be required to be given back after the harvest, as notified. The value of the grain thus distributed is estimated at about 170,000 florins.

It seems a pity that the Austrian Government did not also decide to make a present of all the corn which has been distributed among the necessitous for food during the past two years. The value of such corn would, it is true, exceed perhaps 1,000,000 florins, but in any case it cannot be returned for many years, if ever, and the moral effect throughout the country of such a gift would have been excellent.

I am glad to say that the yield of cereals in both Bosnia and the Herzegovina appears to have been abundant this year, but the continued wet weather that has prevailed during the past month has hindered the harvesting and thrashing, or rather treading out, of the grain. The rain will have been beneficial to the maize crops if there is now sufficient hot weather to ripen it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

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No. 33.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 3.)

(No. 801.)
*Paris, September* 1, 1880.

My Lord,

I CALLED upon Admiral Jauréguiberry this afternoon, and read to his Excellency your Lordship's telegram No. 428 of yesterday evening, containing the answer which the Austrian Government propose should be made to the Porte to its last note with respect to the Montenegrin frontier question, and which maintains the whole line of demarkation to the east of the Lake of Scutari, according to the collective note of the 3rd August, with the exception of the territory of Dinosi, as indicated on a map annexed to the communication of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in London to your Lordship, and of which the French Government have also a copy. I asked what view the French Government took of this proposal.

Admiral Jauréguiberry answered, that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires had made a similar communication to the French Government, and that he saw no objection to agreeing to it if the other Powers were of that opinion.

I told his Excellency that both the German and Her Majesty's Government were willing to agree to it on the same condition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 34.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 3.)

(No. 803.)
*Paris, September* 1, 1880.

My Lord,

I INFORMED Admiral Jauréguiberry this afternoon that I had learnt by telegraph from your Lordship that written orders were sent on the 27th ultimo to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour to proceed to Ragusa with an iron-clad and a despatch vessel, in addition to his flag-ship, and I asked his Excellency what would be the movements of the French contingent.

Admiral Jauréguiberry answered that ships forming the contingent would reach Toulon this evening, that they would be ready to start from there by the 5th instant, and that they would proceed thence to Ragusa, if that place was chosen as the general rendezvous.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 35.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 3.)

(No. 805.)
*Paris, September* 1, 1880.

My Lord,

FROM what I learnt in conversation this afternoon, both with Admiral Jauréguiberry and Baron de Courcel, I am led to believe that they desire to frame their instructions to the French Admiral, as modified since the receipt of my note of yesterday founded on your Lordship's despatch No. 1200 of the 28th August, so as to show as little divergence as possible from the modified instructions to the English Admiral.



But the French Government will still, I have reason to believe, keep to the alternative originally proposed by your Lordship, and accepted by them, whereby the decision in ordinary matters shall be taken by a majority of the Commanders, though they will agree that, as far as maritime operations only are concerned, the senior Admiral in rank shall have the supreme command.

Again, in the last sentence of the last paragraph but two of the modified English instructions, they will, I believe, substitute for the words "on his responsibility" the words "in accord with the Commanders of the different divisions."

I hope, however, to receive a copy of the instructions, as proposed to be modified, in time to forward the same to your Lordship to-morrow.

During my conversation with M. de Courcel, he referred to the expression in my note of yesterday, which, as copied from your Lordship's above-mentioned despatch No. 1200, infers that the French Government still hesitate about giving orders to their Admiral.

M. de Courcel begged me to say to your Lordship that he must protest against this assertion, as the original instructions to the French Admiral were drawn up by the Ministry of Marine, and were in his hands before my note had reached him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 36.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 3.)

(No. 809.)
*Paris, September* 2, 1880.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 1200 of the 28th ultimo, and to my despatch No. 796 of the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of a note and of its inclosure which I have just received from Baron de Courcel, communicating to me the instructions which the French Government propose to give to their Admiral.

The late hour at which this communication has reached me prevents my adding any comments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

*M. de Courcel to Mr. Adams.*

*Paris, le 2 Septembre*, 1880.

M. le Ministre,

VOUS m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser, sous la date du 31 Août, un nouveau projet d'instructions pour l'Amiral Commandant l'escadre Anglaise de la Méditerranée, en vue de la démonstration navale collective à laquelle les Puissances ont l'intention de procéder devant Dulcigno. Ce texte modifié a été rédigé à la suite d'explications échangées par le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois, et vous me demandez si le Gouvernement de la République serait disposé à se l'approprier.

Les instructions pour l'officier général appelé à commander la division Française qui opérera éventuellement dans l'Adriatique, étaient déjà préparées lorsque m'est parvenue votre communication. Toutefois sensibles à l'avantage de bien marquer, par l'identité des directions tracées à tous les Commandants des escadres combinées, le complet accord établi entre les Puissances dans les questions que la Porte Ottomane est mise en demeure de régler sans plus de retard, nous n'hésiterons pas à adopter, pour notre compte, le texte que propose le Cabinet de Londres, sous la réserve d'un petit nombre de modifications qui, dans notre pensée, n'en altéreraient pas sérieusement la portée pratique, mais qui le mettraient plus manifestement en harmonie avec les données générales de notre politique, telles que nous avons eu occasion déjà de les exposer au Gouvernement de la Reine.

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint la rédaction amendée à laquelle nous pourrions souscrire. La principale différence qui la distingue du texte communiqué par vous en dernier lieu, est relative à la question du commandement des escadres. Nous avons reproduit à cet égard la disposition qui se trouvait insérée dans le premier projet d'instructions Anglaises, et à laquelle nous avions formellement adhéré, ainsi que je vous l'ai fait savoir par ma lettre du 21 Août. Mais, pour

nous rapprocher davantage de la nouvelle proposition, nous avons ajouté une phrase qui consacre le principe de l'unité de commandement en ce qui concerne la direction des opérations maritimes adoptées après délibération entre les Chefs des différentes divisions.

Je vous serai reconnaissant de me faire savoir le plus tôt qu'il vous sera possible, si le Gouvernement de la Reine accepte les amendements qui nous permettraient de nous rallier à son nouveau projet. La division navale Française est en ce moment à Toulon; elle sera prête à partir le 5 Septembre au plus tard, et elle devra se rendre directement à Raguse. Il importe naturellement que l'officier qui la commandera puisse recevoir avant son départ les instructions qui lui seront destinées.

Agréez, &c.

Pour le Ministre,
(Signé) A. DE COURCEL.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

*Projet d'Instructions au Contre-Amiral Commandant en sous ordre dans l'Escadre d'Evolution.*

*Paris, le Septembre,* 1880.

M. le Contre-Amiral,

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint la copie de plusieurs notes qui ont été échangées à Constantinople entre les Représentants des Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin et la Porte, au sujet de la rectification de la frontière du Monténégro.

Vous verrez par cette correspondance et par les autres documents que je crois devoir y joindre, que la Porte se trouve en présence de deux propositions concernant la frontière dont il s'agit: l'une qui tend à obtenir la cession d'un territoire situé à l'intérieur du pays, au nord du Lac de Scutari, et à laquelle le Gouvernement Turc a donné son adhésion dans l'Arrangement signé à Constantinople le 18 Avril dernier; l'autre mise en avant le 26 Juin par les Ambassadeurs, et recommandant à l'est et à l'ouest du Lac de Scutari, une rectification de frontière qui, du côté de la mer, étendrait le territoire du Monténégro jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Boyana en englobant Dulcigno.

Le 3 du mois dernier une communication collective, dont une copie est ci-jointe, fut adressée à la Porte par les Ambassadeurs. Cette note portait que dans le cas où l'Arrangement d'Avril ne serait pas exécuté dans le délai de trois semaines les Puissances compteraient que la Porte se joindrait à elles pour aider le Prince de Monténégro à prendre possession du district de Dulcigno, conformément au second projet.

Le 5, la Porte reçut officieusement communication d'un Mémoire indiquant la rectification de frontières projetée à l'est du Lac de Scutari. Une copie de cette pièce se trouve également ci-annexée.

La Porte a élevé des objections contre le projet de rectification de frontières à l'est du lac, mais elle a accepté le principe de la cession de Dulcigno et du district indiqué par les Puissances à l'ouest du lac.

Cependant le délai de trois semaines est expiré, le 24 du mois dernier, sans que le district en question ait été livré, et l'objet des opérations navales actuelles est de réaliser les prévisions de la note du 3 Août, en aidant le Prince de Monténégro à prendre possession de ce territoire.

Le Gouvernement de la République s'est mis d'accord avec les autres Gouvernements alliés sur les instructions suivantes qui doivent guider les Commandants des escadres combinées.

Les escadres combinées devront appuyer l'action militaire du Prince de Monténégro pour prendre possession de Dulcigno, mais il n'y aura ni débarquement de troupes ni opérations à terre.

Dans les cas ordinaires, les décisions qui devront diriger les forces alliées seront prises par les Commandants-en-chef des divisions de chaque Puissance à la majorité des voix. Si un dissentiment persistant se produisait, il en serait référé aux Gouvernements qui trancheront la question.

Le commandement suprême des escadres en ce qui concerne la direction des opérations maritimes adoptées par la majorité des Commandants des divisions appartiendra à l'officier général le plus élevé en grade et en ancienneté. En cas d'absence temporaire, l'officier le plus ancien, après lui, prendra sa place.

Dès votre arrivée à Raguse vous aurez à vous mettre en communication avec



les Commandants des escadres des autres Puissances, et vous vous concerterez avec eux sur la façon la plus utile de déployer devant Dulcigno les forces navales alliées.

Quant une décision aura été prise, à cet égard, le Commandant-en-chef adressera une sommation aux autorités locales de Dulcigno, leur enjoignant de livrer la ville et son territoire au Prince de Monténégro. Si les Agents de la Porte déclarent qu'ils y consentent, le Commandant-en-chef devra aussitôt en donner avis au Prince de Monténégro, en l'invitant à faire avancer ses troupes et à prendre possession de Dulcigno. Si les autorités Ottomanes refusaient, et alléguaient qu'elles n'ont pas reçu d'instructions de la Porte, ou bien si, tout en déclarant qu'elles adhèrent en principe à la cession, elles soutenaient que le transfert ne peut pas être mis en pratique par suite de l'opposition de la population Albanaise, dans ce cas, après un délai de trois jours accordé à ces autorités pour leur laisser le temps de recevoir des ordres de la Porte, le Prince de Monténégro devrait être averti le plus tôt possible et invité à prendre possession de Dulcigno par les moyens militaires; l'assurance lui étant donnée qu'il sera soutenu par la présence de la flotte. Dans cette dernière éventualité, le Commandant-en-chef serait autorisé à ordonner, d'accord avec les Commandants des différentes divisions, toutes les mesures qui tendraient à procurer aux troupes Monténégrines l'appui de la flotte sans impliquer aucune opération à terre. Si le Prince de Monténégro ne se conformait pas à l'invitation des Puissances de faire avancer ses troupes, dans l'un ou l'autre des cas ci-dessus prévus, vous en aviseriez le Gouvernement de la République par le télégraphe, et vous attendriez de nouvelles instructions.

Vous tiendrez le Gouvernement de la République, par le télégraphe et par vos dépêches, au courant de tous les faits qui se produiront, et vous enverrez les doubles de vos communications à l'Ambassadeur de la République à Constantinople.

Recevez, &c.

Le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies,
(Signé) JAURÉGUIBERY.

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No. 37.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 3.)

(No. 810. Strictly Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, September* 2, 1880.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a further note which I have just received from Baron de Courcel, inclosing a draft (copy also transmitted) of confidential instructions which it is proposed to give to the French Admiral, and which are communicated to Her Majesty's Government alone in strict confidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

*M. de Courcel to Mr. Adams.*

(Confidentiel.)

M. le Ministre, *Paris, le 2 Septembre,* 1880.

EN vous faisant connaître que nous sommes disposés à nous associer à l'Angleterre et aux autres Puissances pour l'envoi d'instructions identiques aux Commandants des différentes escadres appelées à opérer de concert dans l'Adriatique, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre par une lettre sous la date de ce jour même, la rédaction à laquelle il nous serait permis de souscrire dans cette vue, et qui, sauf quelques amendements de détail, est calquée sur le texte joint à votre communication du 31 Août.

Nous n'avons pas pu nous dissimuler qu'un semblable projet d'instruction, tout en excluant l'éventualité d'un débarquement, laissait ouverte la possibilité d'un bombardement de Dulcigno ou de tel autre fait de guerre. Cependant, comme j'ai dû vous le marquer expressément par lettre du 21 Août, le Gouvernement de la République ne saurait, dans les circonstances actuelles, accepter pour sa part la

responsabilité d'un recours à des actes de coercition matérielle. Nous n'avons pas voulu rappeler nos réserves à ce sujet dans un acte ostensible, qui pourra tomber dans le domaine de la publicité, mais nous nous sommes crus obligés d'en avertir le Commandant de notre division navale et des instructions confidentielles ont été préparés pour lui dans ce sens.

J'ai l'honneur de vous en transmettre ci-joint une copie, dont je vous serai obligé de donner connaissance au Gouvernement de la Reine à titre strictement confidentiel.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) ALPH. DE COURCEL.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

*Projet d'Instructions à M. le Contre-Amiral Commandant en sous ordre dans l'Escadre à bord du "Suffren."*

(Confidentiel.)
M. le Contre-Amiral, *Paris, le Septembre*, 1880.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que la division placée sous vos ordres, et composée du "Suffren," du "Friedland," et du "Cassard," est destiné à prendre part à la démonstration navale collective, décidée en principe par les Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin.

La lecture des documents annexés à la présente dépêche vous mettra au courant de la question.

Comme vous le verrez, l'objet de la démonstration est d'amener le Gouvernement Ottoman de se conformer à l'invitation contenue dans la note collective des Puissances du 3 Août dernier. Aux termes de cette note, la Porte doit se joindre à nous pour aider le Prince de Monténégro à prendre possession du district de Dulcigno et d'une portion du littoral jusqu'aux bouches de la Boyana.

Le délai indiqué de trois semaines est expiré depuis le 24 Août, et le Gouvernement Turc, au lieu d'agir, a demandé un sursis. Il a donc paru aux Puissances que le moment est venu de prendre, d'un commun accord, les mesures nécessaires pour obtenir l'exécution de l'arrangement qu'elles ont recommandé.

Le projet d'instructions, communiqué à notre Gouvernement par M. le Ministre d'Angleterre à Paris, et la lettre adressée en réponse par M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, vous mettront parfaitement au courant de la situation et de la ligne de conduite que vous aurez à suivre.

Votre mission a pour but de montrer que nous ne séparons pas notre cause de celle des Puissances Signataires; que nous agissons entièrement de concert avec elles.

Par suite, sans intervenir personnellement dans les détails d'une situation politique que vous n'aurez pas à apprécier, vous devrez vous borner à exécuter les mouvements indiqués par les circonstances en vous tenant complètement en dehors de l'action des Agents Diplomatiques, seuls appelés à s'entendre avec la Porte, avec le Prince de Monténégro, ou avec les Chefs Albanais.

Mais vous ne devrez sous aucun prétexte recourir à la force, ni vous associer à des actes de coërcition, fussent-ils même décidés à la pluralité des voix, sans avoir pris mes ordres par le télégraphe. Le cas échéant, vous préviendriez vos collègues de l'autorisation que vous êtes obligé de demander.

Comme l'indique une des lettres adressées, le 21 Août, à M. le Ministre d'Angleterre, vous pourrez suivre la décision de la majorité sur la question de savoir s'il conviendra d'éviter, ou non, de paraître en vue des côtes de l'Albanie Méridionale en se rendant à Dulcigno, quoique, d'après notre avis exprimé dans la lettre précitée, il y ait peut-être quelque inconvénient à éviter avec affectation le voisinage de cette côte, que la Conférence de Berlin a attribuée à la Grèce.

Vous me tiendrez informé, par toutes les occasions, de la situation des affaires et des incidents qui se produiraient. Vous emploierez le télégraphe pour me signaler vos mouvements, et pour m'aviser des faits importants. Les tables à chiffre que vous possédez vous permettront d'ailleurs de me faire parvenir sûrement vos communications confidentielles.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister sur l'importance de votre mission. Vous aurez à faire preuve de prudence et de tact, en vous tenant strictement dans les limites fort étroites que tracent les présentes instructions.

La distinction de vos services antérieurs me donnent d'ailleurs l'entière assurance



que vous remplirez exactement les vues du Gouvernement. Je suis persuadé enfin que, dans cette circonstance, la tenue de vos bâtiments et la précision de leurs évolutions feront honneur au pavillon de la France.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) JAURÉGUIBERRY.

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No. 38.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3.)*

(No. 142.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 3*, 1880.

M. KALLAY says that the Porte has proposed that the frontier east of the lake should be drawn upon the principle of *uti possidetis*, but that this would give to Albania nearly half of the territory included between the Treaty and Commission lines, and would, moreover, be very difficult to define.

He thinks that it would be better to adhere altogether to the Austrian proposal even as regards Matagos, as it is not a village but a district, in which the Albanians occupy positions much nearer Montenegro than the place so marked on the map, and which they would probably claim if the Porte were to be told that Matagos was not to be ceded.

Though he points out these obligations, he is nevertheless quite ready to agree to the Porte's request if the other Powers think it desirable.

He is much vexed at the delay in sending in the answer to the Porte caused by absence of any communication from Russia.

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No. 39.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3, 7·30 P.M.)*

(No. 143.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 3*, 1880, 6·30 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Minister in Montenegro has received from the Prince satisfactory assurances of his willingness to accept the arrangement of the frontier that may be made by the Powers, which remove any doubt that he might refuse to abandon Dinosi.

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No. 40.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3, 5·30 P.M.)*

(No. 201.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 3*, 1880, 2·30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 455.

French Ambassador knows nothing officially of the self-denying Protocol. Will you cause instructions to be sent to him? Austrian and Italian Ambassadors are prepared to sign.

With reference to your telegram No. 418 of the 20th ultimo, authorizing me, provided my colleagues agree, to inform the Porte of the proposal for self-denying Protocol, and for declaration that no further concession should be asked of the Porte in favour of the minor States, I was unable to obtain their consent. Nearly all were without instructions, and some had only the vaguest knowledge of what had passed between the Cabinets on the subject of the proposed declaration.

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No. 41.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3.)*

(No. 203.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 3*, 1880.

FOLLOWING sent to Mr. Green to-day:—

"Your telegram No. 81 is the last received.

"Porte now, in addition to the statement telegraphed to Lord Granville under

No. 196, and repeated to you on the 1st instant, quote your authority as well as that of your French and Austrian colleagues that the *status quo* is the only line which could be accepted without bloodshed.

"Owing to your [ ? ] at Cettinjé, I think it possible that the alleged statements were not made by you, but they are being communicated to Ambassadors as your own.

"It is important that you reply at once to my two telegrams of the 1st instant."

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No. 42.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3, 6 P.M.)*

(No. 84.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 3, 1880, 1 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 83 of yesterday, I have to add that I saw Prince Nicholas again yesterday morning, and obtained from His Highness a repetition of the [? original] assurance that he would conform himself strictly with the wishes of the Powers in the matter affecting the settlement of the pending difficulties with Turkey.

I observed, however, that persons generally in the confidence of the Prince were disposed to be less conciliatory, but of course their view can be disregarded.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 43.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880, 3·15 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 83, you should urge the Prince of Montenegro to commence his preparations at once with a view to either contingency mentioned by him.

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No. 44.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 464.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880, 3·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to telegram from Consul at Odessa, will you have further inquiry made at Bourgas as to the port from which the non-commissioned officers came?

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No. 45.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 465.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880, 3·45 P.M.*

MEMORANDUM inclosed in your despatch No. 227 states that position from point 11 to point 18 would follow line adopted by the majority of Commission. This is not quite in accordance with proposal in Green's No. 128, but the wording of my telegram No. 81 probably misled you. The line between points 11 and 18 is that marked by Captain Sale. No line was voted by the Commission between those points, the vote recorded in Protocol 21 in favour of the Russian proposal having been cancelled in Protocol 22.

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No. 46.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 467.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880, 3·45 P.M.*

I HAVE asked War Office for leave for Lieutenant Vincent to remain at Constantinople.

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No. 47.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3, 4·30 P.M.)*

(No. 70.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 3, 1880, 1·30 P.M.*

FRENCH Government are communicating to their Ambassadors the instructions to French Admiral, copy of which was inclosed in my despatch No. 869 of yesterday, in order to hasten accord.

They do not wish to delay the departure from Toulon of their contingent beyond the 5th.

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No. 48.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 431.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880, 5·5 P.M.*

I HAVE received your despatches of yesterday forwarding the proposed instructions to the French Admiral. I regret that the French Government should not have felt it in their power to adopt our instructions, although it is clear that they have done their utmost, without departing from the opinions they had previously expressed, to make the divergence between their views and those of Her Majesty's Government as little apparent as possible.

The other Powers having agreed to the instructions proposed by us, I do not feel justified in disturbing the arrangements which have been adopted after prolonged communications, and thus running the risk of further delay; but Her Majesty's Government will be ready, with a view of meeting the objections of the French Government, to issue a supplementary instruction to their Admiral, desiring him, in the event of the command devolving upon him, not to assume any authority, or to call upon the French Admiral to take any action that would be in any way inconsistent with his instructions.

Two or three ships are the most that are likely to be required to act in the event of any measures being necessary to assist the Montenegrins in taking possession of Dulcigno, and there is therefore no reason why the French ships should take part in them without the previous sanction of their Government.

I should be very glad, if it were possible, to inform the Cabinet, which meets to-morrow at noon, that the French Government approve of this arrangement; but do not press it unduly.

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No. 49.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3, 6·30 P.M.)*

(No. 90.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September 3, 1880.*

YOUR Lordship's 470.

French Government have this day notified their concurrence in Austrian proposal to German Government, so that the agreement is now complete.

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No. 50.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 432.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880.*

THE memorandum on the Montenegrin frontier which is inclosed in your Excellency's despatch No. 227 of the 9th ultimo states that the frontier, from point 11 to point 18, would follow the line adopted by the majority of the Boundary Commission. This would not, however, be quite in accordance with the proposal contained in Mr. Green's despatch No. 128 of the 29th May. Your Excellency was probably misled by the wording of my telegram No. 81 of the 15th June. The line between points 11 and 18 is that marked by Captain Sale. Between those points there was no line voted by the Commission. The

vote in favour of the Russian proposal, which is recorded in Protocol 21, was cancelled by Protocol No. 22.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 51.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 584.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880.*

Sir,

I INCLOSE copy of a despatch from the Porte to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, calling attention to the injustice of the Agrarian Law, passed by the Skoupshtina on the 17th February last, to Mussulman proprietors in the territory ceded to Servia under the Treaty of Berlin; and I have to request your Excellency to consult with Baron Haymerle on the subject with a view to ascertaining whether anything can be done in the matter, pointing out to his Excellency that injustice to Mussulman proprietors acts injuriously upon the settlement of the questions now in dispute between the Great Powers and the Turkish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 52.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1215.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880.*

Sir,

I HAVE to state to you that I have received your despatches Nos. 809 and 810 of yesterday's date, inclosing the text of the Instructions with which it is proposed to furnish the French Admiral in regard to the projected Demonstration off Dulcigno, together with the draft of additional confidential Instructions which it is also proposed to send to him.

Her Majesty's Government must express their regret that the French Government should not have felt it in their power to adopt the text of the Instructions which Her Majesty's Government proposed to address to the English Admiral, although they recognize the evident desire of the French Government to do their utmost, without departing from the opinions which they had previously expressed, to make the divergence between their views and those of Her Majesty's Government as little apparent as possible.

The other Powers having agreed to the Instructions as now proposed by Her Majesty's Government, they do not feel justified in disturbing the arrangements which have been adopted after prolonged communications, and thus incurring the risk of further delay; but Her Majesty's Government will be ready, with a view of meeting the objections of the French Government, to issue a supplementary Instruction to their Admiral desiring him, in the event of the command devolving upon him, not to assume any authority over or to call upon the French Admiral to take any action that would be in any way inconsistent with his Instructions.

Two or three ships, as Her Majesty's Government consider, are the most that are likely to be required to act in the event of any measures being necessary to assist the Montenegrins in taking possession of Dulcigno, and there appears, therefore, no reason why the French ships should take part in them without the previous sanction of their Government.

I should be glad, if it were possible, to be able to inform the Cabinet, which meets to-morrow at noon, that the French Government approve of the above arrangement, but I do not desire that you should press this question unduly upon them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 53.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 100. Extender.) *Foreign Office, September 3, 1880.*

Sir,

IN your telegram No. 83 of yesterday you state that Prince Nicholas has informed you that if Dulcigno is to be surrendered peaceably he would be ready to take possession on receiving eight days' notice; but that if he is to meet with armed opposition the time necessary for his preparations would depend on the position of affairs in the district of Dulcigno. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government His Highness should commence his preparations at once, so as to be ready for either of the contingencies he mentions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 54.

*Vice-Consul Blakeney to Mr. Goschen.—(Received at the Foreign Office, September 4.)*

(No. 41.) *Prevesa, August 14, 1880.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of your Excellency, copy and translation of a petition from the inhabitants of ten villages of Arta, in which they set forth their grievances.

The above petition was handed to me by the chief Orthodox priest at Prevesa, who at the same time informed me that all the Consulates here had to be supplied with a similar copy.

The action I took in the matter, and which I trust will meet with the approval of your Excellency, was to represent matters early on the following day to the Mutessarif, taking care, however, not to expose the petitioners, who, as your Excellency will perceive, appeal to me "secretly."

Before I conclude, I think it but fair to state that, whenever I have had occasion to bring to the notice of the Mutessarif instances such as the above, I have always found him ready and willing to make use of his authority so as to remove all cause for further complaint. I therefore hope that steps have already been taken by him to insure the safety of the petitioners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. BLAKENEY.

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Inclosure in No. 54.

*Petition.*

(Translation.)

To the British Vice-Consul of Prevesa.

Sir,

THE Undersigned, inhabitants of the department of Laeca, district of Arta, respectfully bring to your notice with our present that, after having suffered for three whole years from brigandage, from the irregular Albanian police employed by Government in the suppression of brigandage, from dreadful hunger, and from numerous other evils, we are now threatened with another, which is to cause our total destruction.

A blacksmith of the village of Lelova, finding himself sorely tormented by an Albanian belonging to the irregular police, killed the latter in a fit of despair and then escaped. The above irregulars have thus found a good excuse to conspire against us and destroy us. They have already committed a murder outside the village of Lelova at night, and they intend to kill as many as they can until reinforced, when they will fall upon our village and slaughter us. We find ourselves as if besieged, and are in hourly expectation of death. We therefore expect mercy from the Government of Great Britain and from the European Powers, and we appeal secretly and unanimously to your generous sentiments and love of justice to deliver us from the claws of the Bashi-Bazouks and from certain death.

We hope that this prayer of the entire community will be heard, and we remain with the greatest respect, &c.

(Seals of the Mouktars of ten villages.)

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No. 55.

*Vice-Consul Blakeney to Mr. Goschen.—(Received at the Foreign Office, September 4.)*

(No. 46.)
Sir, *Prevesa, August 28, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the rumour current here last week that Kiazim Bey, brother-in-law of Vessel Bey, and Mutessarif of Argyrocastro, had been transferred to Prevesa, has proved correct, for he arrived here on the 25th instant, and immediately assumed the duties of his new post.

The transfer of Kiazim Bey to the Mutessariflik of Prevesa had given rise to much comment. It was thought that his presence here had no other object than to encourage the Albanian movement. It appears, however, that this is not the case, for I am informed that, having invited the members of the League to attend at the konak the night before last, he advised them to desist from all further action in connection with the frontier question and to leave everything to Government.

That the Government is doing all in its power to keep possession of these two provinces. But should European pressure oblige the Porte to yield, they too (meaning the Albanians) must submit to the decision of united Europe.

Whether Kiazim Bey's words are in accordance with instructions from the capital time alone will prove. It is to be hoped, however, and this for the sake of the Government itself, that he has spoken in earnest, for if the Albanians continue to receive the support of the authorities the Turkish Government will very shortly find out that they will have to grapple with a great difficulty, and which might, perhaps, put in peril the authority of the Sultan in Albania, for I fear that the Albanians aim at something more than to oppose the cession of this part of the Turkish territory to Greece.

The post vacated by Kiazim Bey at Argyrocastro has been filled by Nakim Bey, son of Malik Pasha, of Janina, and Demir Pasha, Mutessarif of Berat, has been appointed Mutessarif of Janina. This last post had been abolished some time back.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. BLAKENEY.

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No. 56.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 280. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, August 15, 1880.*

M. TRICOUPI, from the tenor of the letters he has received from the Greek Minister in London, infers that your Lordship believes that, in asking for at least the negative approval of Her Majesty's Government of the publication of the Decree mobilizing the army, the Hellenic Government wished to throw on the British Government the responsibility of what might occur in case that measure was further postponed.

His Excellency has requested me to assure your Lordship that no such intention ever existed on the part of this Government, and all the communications which had passed between him and your Lordship on the subject of mobilizing the army had reference to internal policy, and that it was desired to publish the Decree of Mobilization in order that the Government should be in a position to act with effect when necessity should arise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

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No. 57.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 285.)
My Lord, *Athens, August 26, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that orders have been received by the Russian Admiral stationed at the Piræus to proceed without delay to Gravosa or Cattaro, and, in the event of the naval demonstration off Dulcigno being decided on, to act in concert with the British Admiral.



Orders have also been sent to the Russian ships, the "Svetlana" and the "Yemtchong," to meet the Russian Admiral on the Coast of Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

P.S.—*28th August.*—Since writing the above I have ascertained that Admiral Cremer left the Piræus for Cattaro on board the "Svetlana," which touched here on the 25th and left again the next morning for the Adriatic.

E. C.

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No. 58.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 286.)
My Lord, *Athens, August 26, 1880.*

M. TRICOUPI has heard from Constantinople that something has been said by the German Ambassador there to the effect that if the Porte consented to cede to Greece the new frontier as recommended in the late Conference at Berlin, the Powers might consent to guarantee to the Sultan his remaining possessions in Europe.

M. Tricoupi told me to-day that, if such a guarantee were given, it was to be hoped that it would be confined to the Sultan's dominions on the Continent of Europe, as, from information he had received from Crete, he was convinced that the inhabitants would never admit that they were to be eternally united to Turkey, and great troubles would be the result of any such promise being made by the Powers to the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

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No. 59.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 287.)
My Lord, *Athens, August 26, 1880.*

THERE is no alteration in the state of affairs here since the date of my despatch No. 283 of the 19th instant. The country seems disposed to await quietly the results of the pressure which it is expected the Great Powers will bring to bear upon the Turkish Government to induce them to cede to Greece the frontier recommended at Berlin.

The recruits continue to present themselves in a satisfactory manner, and the Government count upon having an army of 30,000 men about the middle of September, and 40,000 a month later. These, however, are for the most part recruits who will have had from one to two months training, and are exclusive of 27,000 men who have served with the colours, and are ready to be called out at the last moment, and who are all more or less trained soldiers.

The Government are confident of their ability to put down all local opposition to the Greek occupation of Epirus and Thessaly, but without foreign assistance it would evidently be hopeless for them to make head against the Turks if they openly refused to cede those provinces.

Hopes are generally expressed that the matter will be settled before next winter, as if Greece were obliged to keep under arms through the winter so large a force as will shortly be enrolled, the finances of the country, already in anything but a flourishing state, would be permanently ruined.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

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No. 60.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 267. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, August 23, 1880.*

THREE days ago I received a letter from Vojvoda Radonich stating that as my colleagues at Cettinjé have kept a studied silence ("silence obstiné") on the subject of

the negotiations going on at Constantinople with reference to the collective note of the 3rd instant, the Prince was anxious to learn from me, as the Representative of the Power which had taken the initiative in this matter, what was being done.

I replied, in a guarded manner, that no distinction could be made between the action of the several Powers in this question, and that all having entered into the same engagement the will of one could not be imposed upon the others. I had, however, heard that the Sultan had put forward some objections to the surrender of Dinosi, and I imagined if these objections were found just by the Powers the Prince would not put himself in opposition to their wishes; and this belief, I learnt, had been confirmed by reports reaching your Lordship from Lord Dufferin.

The result of this reply has been to draw from the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs the communication of which the inclosed is a copy.

M. Radonich repels in rather a hasty tone the possibility of the Prince ever consenting to forego the possession of Dinosi, and forgets, by his pointed allusions to the initiative taken by Her Majesty's Government, that all the other Powers have voices, as well, in the settlement of the Montenegrin frontier.

I have in no way compromised the rights of the Principality by expressing confidence in the moderation of its Prince, and I am still of opinion, if the Powers find it expedient, to give way before the appeals of the Turks for Dinosi, that His Highness will not be prepared to disregard their decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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Inclosure in No. 60.

*M. Radonich to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(Télégraphique.) *Cettinjé, le 3/15 Août,* 1880.

SUR ce que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire relativement à la cession de Dinoch à la Turquie, et les renseignements transmis par Lord Dufferin sur l'acquiescement probable du Monténégro à cette cession, il doit y avoir un grand malentendu. Jamais le Prince ne donnera son consentement à cette cession. Son Altesse se tient strictement au tracé que vous avez vous-même indiqué par écrit en date du 13 Juin dernier, au point que s'il y aurait quelques modifications, il se verrait obligé à retirer son adhésion. Vous voudriez bien rappeler que c'est sous la condition expresse que le tracé proposé par l'initiative Anglaise ne subirait aucune modification que Son Altesse y a donnée son acquiescement.

Le Prince se voit dans la nécessité de demander à St. Pétersbourg des explications sur les renseignements transmis par Lord Dufferin à Lord Granville.

Veuillez, je vous prie, porter immédiatement ce qui précède à la connaissance de votre Gouvernement.

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No. 61.

*Captain Swaine to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 3.) *Athens, August* 26, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour herewith to forward to your Lordship the duplicate of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEOPOLD V. SWAINE.

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Inclosure in No. 61.

*Captain Swaine to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 34. Confidential.) *Athens, August* 26, 1880.

Sir,

IN accordance with your Excellency's telegraphic instructions, I visited the detachment of Greek troops at Lamia, on Thursday the 19th instant.

On the previous evening Her Majesty's ship "Falcon," Captain Clark, anchored off



Stilida, in the Bay of Zeitun. The distance from there to Lamia is about 12 miles, and an excellent macadamized road joins the two villages.

I found that the camp which existed two years ago had been broken up entirely, and that its garrison consisted of less than 2,000 men, not counting the few advanced posts in the passes leading over into Thessaly.

A Lieutenant-Colonel, as "Commandant de Place," had control over this small force, which counted 2 troops of cavalry, 1 battery of artillery, 1 strong company of engineers, and 2 battalions of infantry.

The officers gave me to understand that the recruits were coming in fairly well. On the other hand, in the absence of good instructors—an evil much felt in the Greek army—it would take till next spring at least before this country could show a force on the frontier even numerically equal to the Turks of to-day.

Since my arrival in Athens I have learnt that Colonel Ralli has completed his work in Hungary. He has bought 2,000 horses, which will cost the Government, when landed at the Piræus, 580 fr. each. On the whole his purchase is well spoken of, but as they are intended chiefly for the artillery and train, I consider them for that purpose much too light. Hungarian horses are better suited for the cavalry.

Of the recruits I have myself seen drilling I cannot say much. There are certainly fine men among them, but the greater bulk look weak, especially about the chest and loins.

The impression among the officers is that they are quite unable to meet the Turks in fair fight; but, should these be induced to retire, that they would be quite strong enough to give a good account of the Albanians.

I venture to throw some doubt on this, if the mountaineers are determined energetically to offer resistance.

The enthusiasm attributed to this country may be smouldering, but, as far as I can see, it exists at this moment more in the imagination of those whose interest it is to profess its presence than in the spirit of the people. I judge this not from any fanciful notion of my own, but from the fact that already upwards of 1,000 young men have left the country by the Austrian and Italian Companies' boats to escape conscription, and because no desire is displayed on the part of the youths of the upper classes, whose actual turn has not yet come, to enrol themselves as volunteers, and to show an example of patriotism to others.

In my last Report I was anxious to lay before your Excellency as impartial a view as possible of what I considered the reasonable chances on either side. I have now only to add that, as the season is drawing on, and as snow will soon reappear on the highlands, it becomes a question whether much bloodshed would not be avoided by allowing time to make its mark. It would give one side an opportunity of bettering its military condition, while the prospects of another winter, with all its miseries, might force the other one to reason and to yield.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEOPOLD V. SWAINE,
*Captain, Military Attaché.*

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No. 62.

*Consul Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(Confidential.) *Corfu, August* 31, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith inclosed, copy of despatch I have received from Vice-Consul Onofrio of Santa Maura, which, at least having the maintenance of peace in view, may be found of some interest.

Were the Greeks not to alienate from themselves the Albanian element they, at perhaps not a very remote period, might find it a powerful ally against the Slavs.

From what I hear, I believe that there is not an inconsiderable number of influential Albanians who would be found in favour of the scheme as put forth by Vice-Consul Onofrio, but how such a project would be received in Greece would be another question; although, if she came into collision with the Albanians, it is considered by the majority in this quarter that it will be a very serious matter for her, and this is pretty well known by the immense numbers of young Greeks who have already escaped abroad, and continue to do so, in order to avoid the conscription.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing I have been informed by a reliable person here that Kiassim Bey, the Albanian mentioned in Mr. Onofrio's despatch, when here lately, spoke very strongly in favour of the scheme as set forth in Mr. Onofrio's despatch, and appeared to have but little doubt as to the possibility of its being carried out as far as the Albanians were concerned.

R. R.

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Inclosure in No. 62.

*Vice-Consul Onofrio to Consul Reade.*

(Confidential.)

*Santa Maura, August* 28, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the newly-appointed Governor of Prevesa, Kiassim Bey, an Albanian Notable and brother-in-law of Abédine Pasha, arrived at his post on Wednesday last, 25th instant. The appointment of an adherent to the "League" to the Governorship of Prevesa has been foreseen ever since last May, but since the accession of Abédine Pasha to power, it has been regarded as an impending event. Kiassim Bey was Sub-Prefect of Police at Constantinople, and has, during the last three years been Governor of Argyrocastro, whence he has now been transferred to Prevesa.

2. From all that can be gathered from fairly reliable sources as to the aspect of affairs in Epirus there is no doubt that the determination of the Albanians to resist annexation to Greece assumes from day to day a more threatening character. It appears, however, that among the supporters of the "League" there exists an influential party that believes that a struggle between Greece and Albania might be averted, and an understanding advantageous to both might be rendered possible were Greece to consent to a compromise as regards Epirus. This party, being fully sensible of the danger of absorption by the new States bordering on Albania, is determined not to secede from the Porte as long as it can afford to protect Albania against all comers; but, on the other hand, it is fully alive to the fact that the power of the Porte to give effectual protection weakens from day to day. It also recognizes that, owing to affinity of race, the Hellenic is the only element with which the Albanians could co-operate towards the formation of a new State capable of counteracting the growing predominance of their neighbours. But political assimilation on the basis of the Greek Constitution being impossible in Albania so long as both Christians and Mahommedans have not reached a higher standard of civilization, as it is also impossible that a people imbued with the tenets of a dominant race (and these are facts not to be called into question), should be expected to abandon by a stroke of the pen secular prejudices and tribal traditions, and to resign itself quietly to the Greek system of Government, a system which, even in Greece proper, is regarded to be in many respects mischievous. The said party, whose views I am recording, thinks that all these and other difficulties might be overcome; a bloody struggle might be averted, and a cordial understanding and co-operation between Greeks and Albanians might be established if "annexation" were only to be substituted by a "Greco-Albanian Confederacy" (including Northern Albania) under the sovereignty of the King of Greece. Such a political scheme would, in the opinion of said party, be the best means calculated to secure Albanian and Hellenic interests alike; it would not offend the dignity of the two races; it would be able to repel encroachments from abroad; and last, but not least, it would prepare the way for "assimilation," and, in the process of time, for the "Hellenization" of the Albanians themselves, as "Hellenic" influence would be largely introduced in the administration of affairs in Albania. Moreover, they are confident that such a "scheme" would not be discountenanced by at least those Powers interested in raising a bulwark against further encroachments of the Slavs in south-eastern Europe, as well as in frustrating "schemes" of annexation of Albania that may be entertained by either Austria or Italy.

It is, however, maintained that such an understanding between Greece and Albania, to be effective, should be arrived at before the first shot is fired by either party.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS ONOFRIO.

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No. 63.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 4.)

(No. 813.)

*Paris, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

BARON DE COURCEL informs me that the French Government are communicating to each of their Ambassadors at the Courts of the Great Powers the proposed draft Instructions to the French Admiral, a copy of which was transmitted by me to your Lordship in my despatch No. 809 of yesterday.

This is done, he says, with a view of hastening an agreement amongst the Powers with respect to the instructions for the Admirals; and the French Government do not wish the departure of their contingent from Toulon to be delayed beyond the 5th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 64.

*Abédine Pasha to Musurus Bey.*—(*Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September* 4.)

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 2 Septembre*, 1880.

LE Gouvernement Impérial, vous ne l'ignorez pas, a toujours été justement soucieux pour une prompte solution de la question Monténégrine. Il n'a négligé aucun moyen pratique pour pouvoir arriver un moment plus tôt à ce but; et, simultanément avec l'envoi sur les lieux de Riza Pacha et d'un nombre suffisant de troupes, il a pris d'autres mesures tendant à faciliter le même résultat.

Les télégrammes que nous recevons depuis deux ou trois jours de cet officier supérieur nous annoncent que le mode de cession du district avec la ville de Dulcigno contenu dans le tracé qui nous avait été antérieurement remis par l'Ambassade d'Allemagne à Constantinople, au nom des Puissances Signataires, pourra être adopté et mis en vigueur sans trop de difficultés, mais que, pour obtenir à cet effet le consentement des Albanais, il fallait avant tout tracer une ligne fixe et définitive ayant pour base le *statu quo*, c'est-à-dire, les positions respectives occupées par les Albanais et les Monténégrins, et dès lors indiquer avec précision les points situés du côté de Podgoritza au Lac de Scutari, attendu que, dans le cas contraire, les Albanais ne se soumettraient en aucune façon à la cession de Dulcigno, et que des conflits redoutables ne manqueraient certainement pas de surgir. Je crois devoir, pour votre édification complète à cet égard, vous transmettre ci-après en traduction le dernier télégramme de Riza Pacha: "Le tracé d'Ottolenghi au nord du lac commence du littoral de ce lac à 5 kilom. de Plavnica, indiqué par erreur dans la carte Autrichienne du côté de Helem, laisse au Monténégro toutes les hauteurs de Vrania et de Matagoch, et traversant pour ainsi dire sur une ligne droite les maisons du village Simkouch Chanic laisse également du côté des Monténégrins Vrania et ses territoires qui composent Hoti ainsi que le village Larna et ses territoires composant Grudi, c'est-à-dire, tous les champs qui nourissent les populations de Hoti et de Grudi. La plupart des Albanais réunis à Touzi ont occupé ces hauteurs. En cas où l'on viendrait à accepter le tracé d'Ottolenghi, il est de toute impossibilité, j'en ai acquis la certitude, d'obtenir l'évacuation et la remise de Dulcigno. Vu les conséquences funestes devant résulter de l'exécution d'un ordre qui serait donné à ce sujet et ne voulant nullement assumer la responsabilité d'une si grave éventualité, je déclare dès maintenant ne pouvoir remplir la mission qui m'est dévolue. Aussi je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien pourvoir, sans le moindre retard, à la nomination d'une autre personne qui voudrait se charger de régler l'affaire à ces conditions."

Le Gouvernement Impérial déclare en conséquence accepter le tracé des Puissances relativement à la partie ouest du Lac de Scutari, tracé consistant en la cession du district de Dulcigno au Monténégro à partir de la Rivière de Boyana. Quant au *statu quo* en question qui devra être pris comme ligne définitive pour la partie est du même lac, c'est-à-dire, du côté de la ligne-frontière du même *statu quo*, devra commencer par le lac près la partie ouest de la forêt Marc, puis passer à travers Goschik, Godnigostil, Bihkian, laisser Stanislavaxch au Monténégro, et, après avoir traversé l'Eglise de St. Nicolas, arriver à la Rivière Sem, et de là au sommet de Vonin, situé sur la ligne de démarcation commune de Koutchikrania et Groda. En cas où ce tracé serait accepté par les Puissances Signataires, et leur adhésion portée à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte, le fait sera immédiatement annoncé aux Albanais et on procédera en même temps à l'évacuation de Dulcigno. Par la lecture des différents rapports télégraphiques de Riza Pacha, nous avons acquis la

certitude qu'il ne saurait y avoir un autre moyen plus propre à obtenir le résultat voulu, et que le susdit tracé est d'ailleurs approuvé par ceux des Consuls des Puissances à Scutari qui ont eu l'occasion de s'entretenir tout récemment sur ce qui précède avec Riza Pacha. Dans tous les cas, en ce qui concerne la ligne du côté de Podgoritza, tant qu'on ne ferait pas savoir catégoriquement le fait aux Albanais, la cession elle-même de Dulcigno serait hérissée de difficultés et provoquerait des complications inattendues.

Nous avons la conviction intime que toutes les Puissances, animées comme la Sublime Porte d'un égal désir de voir la question Monténégrine se résoudre d'une manière satisfaisante, n'hésiteront pas à accorder sans perte de temps leur sanction à ce projet qui vient d'être sanctionné par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et communiqué par moi ce soir à tous les Premiers Droginans des Ambassades qui s'étaient réunis dans mon Département.

Nous attendons de votre tact et de votre patriotisme le soin d'amener le Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité à apprécier à leur juste valeur les efforts que nous consacrons pour satisfaire au vœu des Puissances en essayant d'écarter tout ce qui serait de nature à donner lieu à des conflits regrettables et imprévus, et de faire en sorte que le projet de la démonstration navale à Dulcigno, qui provoque tant d'agitation dans les esprits, soit définitivement écarté.

Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture de la présente dépêche à son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

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No. 65.

*The Turkish Consul at Widdin to Abédiné Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September 4.)*

*Widdin, le 5 Août*, 1880.

J'AI l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence qu'une quantité considérable de munitions de guerre a été débarquée à Lom Palanka, échelle de Sophia, d'où on en a expédié une partie à Widdin.

De plus, la garnison de Widdin et toutes celles du sandjak, on dit aussi toute l'armée Bulgare, ont été munies de fusils nouveaux et semblables à ceux de la Garde Impériale Russe.

Suivant les informations qui m'ont été données, il y aurait en ce moment en Bulgarie plusieurs officiers supérieurs Russes nouvellement arrivés. Je remarque, pour ma part, la présence à Widdin depuis quelque temps d'un Colonel Russe accompagné de deux autres officiers; j'ignore si ces officiers sont chargés de quelque mission ici.

Enfin, sur des ordres venus de Sophia, on a redoublé les exercices journaliers des hommes de la garnison et il est aisé d'observer, depuis un certain temps, une activité extraordinaire dans les quartiers militaires.

Veuillez, &c.

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No. 66.

*Mr. Gould to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 5.) *Belgrade, September 3*, 1880.
(Telegraphic.)

JUST received following telegram from the British Vice-Consul at Nisch:—

"The annual militia training has commenced, but [ ? ] greater military activity is observed this year than last. Austrian Vice-Consul starts to-morrow morning for Vranja, on southern frontier. Do you think it necessary or advisable to send me to attend? Pray reply."

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No. 67.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 85.) *Scutari, September 3*, 1880.
(Telegraphic.)

FOLLOWING to Mr. Goschen, under No. 83:—

"Your telegrams of the 31st August and the 1st instant.

"I quite agree with you that an end should be put to the constantly varying proposals of the Porte, especially as its proceedings here falsify the slightest intention of surrendering the Dulcigno district.



"To-day a body of about 80 volunteers has arrived from Jacova, and others are expected, the real and sole agitators of resistance being still, however, the Turkish authorities and Agents.

"The evening before starting for Montenegro I saw Riza Pasha, who told me that the Powers had given way in the matter of Dinosi, but that unless they did so also concerning Matagus he could hold out no hope of a satisfactory conclusion of pending affairs. I replied that the claims of the Turkish Government really amounted to maintaining the *status quo* of line east of Lake Scutari, as the villages of [Gos—?], Matagus, and Dinosi are the only ones from which the Albanians would have to withdraw under the original proposal of the Powers. I added that if there was a possibility of obtaining a trustworthy pledge that the Dulcigno cession would be immediately carried out, and if the Powers had really consented to abandon Dinosi, I would not, on being consulted, pronounce against the relinquishment also of the two other villages, as I was most strongly opposed to any frontier question being left open for future discussion.

"The idea of my being able to exercise influence over the inhabitants of Dulcigno, which was that of the Sultan, is simply absurd, and has been put forward with some hidden intention. I could, however, explain privately to the shipowners of that place that their vessels can be retain[ed under] the Ottoman flag by registering themselves in Albanian ports, and I trust the knowledge of this advantage would have a very beneficial effect."

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 68.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

(No. 86.) *Scutari, September 3*, 1880.
(Telegraphic.)

FOLLOWING to Mr. Goschen, under No. 84:—

"Your telegram of to-day received.

"Since sending off my telegram No. 83 this afternoon my Austrian colleague called on me and informed me that he had been to inquire of Riza Pasha the meaning of his statement about our views regarding the *status quo* line. The General explained that he had reported to Constantinople that if a frontier was drawn in a straight line from Markorman to St. Nicholas, and thence to the River Zem, and to the Turkish Commissioners' line up to point 26, whence Sukai Gruda should be gained by Graniste, he would be able at once to pacify the Albanians, and make them consent to submit to the loss of Dulcigno. Neither my Austrian colleague nor I have ever said anything which could authorize Riza Pasha to imagine that we countenanced such an impracticable line. We are both of opinion that if the Porte would once for all engage to [ ? ] the present difficulties, the positions of Matagosh and Gosic might be perhaps abandoned to it, but nothing else.

"I must explain to your Excellency that the questions of the proposed frontiers to the east and west of the lake are not really connected with each other, and that Riza Pasha's attempt to gain advantages to the east by setting up the wishes of the Albanians is a valueless pretence. The mountain tribes on the east side are perfectly indifferent as to the fate of the Mussulmans on the western coast, and whatever opposition exists with these is fomented by the Porte for the purpose of gaining the positions which [ ? ] lost [ ? ] of vital importance, and [? even] are in fact most insignificant to Turkey.

"(Sent home.)"

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No. 69.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received September 4.)*

*St. Petersburgh, September 4*, 1880.
(Telegraphic.)

M. JOMINI has just heard from M. de Giers that he has telegraphed to you direct from Livadia to the effect that the Russian Government will concur in the modifications proposed by Austria in reference to the Montenegrin frontier, since they have been approved of by the British Government.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 70.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 4, 3·15 P.M.)

(No. 80.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 4, 1880, 12·15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 431.

I have just left *ad interim* Minister for Foreign Affairs and Courcel. French Government are sensible of the offer of Her Majesty's Government, but persist in thinking that there is a very great advantage in complete identity of instructions.

It was with that object that, as I telegraphed yesterday, they have sent to their Ambassadors proposed modified instructions to be laid before the Powers for their acceptance, and they desire to await the answers of the Powers before accepting your Lordship's present proposal. They believe that the acceptance of their modified instructions would be obtained if Her Majesty's Government would, on their side, inform the Powers that they themselves have no objection to accepting them.

I pressed your Lordship's argument on them, though not unduly, with above result.

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No. 71.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 538.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 4, 1880, 4·30 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 142, I concur in M. Kállay's opinion that it would be better to adhere to the Austrian proposal.

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No. 72.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 476.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 4, 1880, 5·50 P.M.

LORD DUFFERIN telegraphs that Russian Government accept Austrian modifications in note to Porte respecting Montenegrin frontier. A collective note should be presented at once, in the terms proposed in my telegram of the 31st to Paris, Rome, and St. Petersburgh, and repeated to you in my No. 452.

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No. 73.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 586.)
*Foreign Office, September* 4, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram No. 142 of yesterday's date relative to the Montenegrin frontier question, I have to request your Excellency to inform M. de Kállay that I concur in his opinion, that it would be better to adhere to the Austrian proposal.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 74.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 433. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September* 4, 1880.

Sir,

I AM informed by Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh that the Russian Government accept the modifications suggested by Austria-Hungary in the proposed note to the Porte respecting the Montenegrin frontier. A collective note should therefore at once be presented to the Turkish Government, drawn up in the terms of my telegraphic despatch of the 31st ultimo to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Rome, and St. Petersburgh, which was communicated to your Excellency on the same day.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 75.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 5.)

(No. 204.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 4, 1880, 9 P.M.

YOUR No. 455.

French Ambassador has received authority to sign self-denying Protocol. Russian Ambassador knows only of your original proposal, and that the Russian Government were prepared to accept it, but he has no instructions to sign it. He asks for [? instructions] now. He has heard indirectly Austrian modifications, but he received no information himself about them. It does not result clearly from the despatches in my possession what has become of the Austrian modifications. Does your Lordship's original draft, inclosed in your despatch to Lord Odo Russell No. 399 of the 17th July, stand good?

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No. 76.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 5, 10 A.M.)

(No. 87.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 4, 1880, 11 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 68 of yesterday.

I shall immediately make a communication to Prince Nicholas in the sense directed, but I venture to suggest that the Representatives in Montenegro of the other Powers should also be instructed to press the matter on his attention, as some of them, I fear, are disposed to thwart the action recommended by your Lordship.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 77.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 5.)

(No. 88.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 4, 1880.

THE Chiefs of the Gruda called on me this morning, evidently by Riza Pasha's direction, and repeated to me the General's arguments about Matagus and Dinosi. I availed myself of the opportunity to make them understand the Turkish wire-pulling period has come to an end, and that they must now submit to the wishes of the Powers. I found them very reasonable, and told them that, although I thought they could not hope for Matagus, Dinosi might still perhaps be saved. Bib Doda was present at this interview, and gave me valuable support. The Chiefs assured me that not a man of their tribes would move to prevent the cession of Dulcigno.

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No. 78.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 5, 9 P.M.)

(No. 155.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 5, 1880, 5·40 P.M.

M. JOMINI has just sent to inform me that he learns by a telegram from Livadia that, in consequence of Prince Nicholas insisting so strongly on keeping Dinosi, the Russian Cabinet now proposes to maintain strictly "the English combination," namely, to require the Montenegrins to occupy Dulcigno, and then to proceed to the execution of the remainder of the programme.

This is in direct contradiction to what M. Jomini told me on Saturday.

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No. 79.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6, 7 P.M.)*

(No. 157.)
(Telegraphic.)
*St. Petersburgh, September 5*, 1880.

M. JOMINI further explains that the conclusion arrived at by Russia, as reported in my telegram No. 155, is consequent upon the fresh objections raised by the Porte to the Austrian line.

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No. 80.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 131.)
*Sophia, August 20*, 1880.

My Lord,

BY my telegram No. 4 of the 13th instant, I had the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Zancoff had assured me that no arms or ammunition had been received from Russia with the exception of the rifles which had been ordered in the month of January last, and which had not all arrived.

With regard to the statement contained in the "Times" telegram referred to in your Lordship's telegram No. 3 of the 11th instant, M. Zancoff observed that the telegram was dated from Kustendjé, and he said that all the reports respecting the armaments in Bulgaria, for which there was absolutely no foundation, arose in Roumania, and that it seemed that the Roumanians were anxious to make Europe believe that Bulgaria was making warlike preparations.

In the afternoon of the same day I had a conversation with General Ehrenroth, the Minister of War, who repeated the assurances which had been given to me both by the Prince and by M. Zancoff. He said that the Bulgarian steamers on the Danube were employed in bringing the rifles which had been ordered.

Since then I have received a despatch from the Acting British Vice-Consul at Rustchuk reporting the arrival of two batteries Krupp field-pieces, 16 guns, and about 1,344 boxes of small arms and ammunition.

I understand from one of my colleagues that General Ehrenroth has stated that one battery of Krupp guns which had been ordered some time ago had arrived, but that he denied the arrival of the second battery.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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No. 81.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 132.)
*Sophia, August 21*, 1880.

My Lord,

MR. DALZIEL, the Acting British Vice-Consul at Rustchuk, has informed me that a certain Mustapha Effendi has been deputed by the Mussulman population of that town to ask the opinion of the Sheikh-el-Islam as to whether they can lawfully bear arms for the Bulgarian Government in the approaching conscription.

General Ehrnroth, the Minister of War, stated to me in the course of conversation that he thought it would be wiser not to compel the Mussulmans to enter the army. He thought that all possible measures ought to be taken to allay the ill-feeling which existed between the Mussulmans and the Bulgarians, and, if the former were compelled to serve, their discontent would be likely to increase, more especially as there were no Turkish officers in the Bulgarian army to whom they could apply if they had cause for complaint. They had shown that they were capable of great sacrifices by abandoning their homes and properties during the war, and he did not see either the justice or the expediency of enlisting them in the Bulgarian army, which was composed of persons of a different race and of a different religion.

General Ehrnroth's views are, I believe, not shared by the other members of the Bulgarian Cabinet, who maintain that, as the Turks have been granted the same privileges as the Bulgarians, they should be called upon to bear the same burdens, and I understand that it has been determined to proceed with their enrolment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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No. 82.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 133.)
*Sophia, August 21*, 1880.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 117 of the 23rd ultimo, I have the honour to report that the Russian Agent and Consul-General has been instructed to support the claim of Roumania for Consular jurisdiction in Bulgaria.

M. Beldimano, the Acting Roumanian Agent, has informed me that the question of the violation of the seals of the Roumanian Consulate at Varna will probably be shortly settled, in consequence of the dismissal of the President of the Tribunal of that place, and he hopes that before long it may be possible to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a Convention between the two Principalities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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No. 83.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 134.)
*Sophia, August 21*, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received from the Acting British Vice-Consul at Varna, reporting that, notwithstanding the frequent telegrams published in the newspapers, but few Russian officers and no arms or ammunition had recently arrived at Varna.

Mr. Brophy also calls attention to the preparations which are being made by the enlistment of volunteers, with a view to effecting the union between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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Inclosure in No. 83.

*Acting Vice-Consul Brophy to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Varna, August 5*, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, notwithstanding frequent telegrams published in the newspapers to the contrary, but fifteen or twenty officers and soldiers have arrived at Varna from Russia to take service in Bulgaria, and that no guns, rifles, or ammunition has been disembarked here since my last report on the subject of the 22nd May, the Russian Government preferring, both for convenience of distribution and for secrecy, the Danube route.

Most of the numerous volunteers enrolled in the interior and sent towards the Shumla district are, so to speak, professional insurrectionists, having acted in this capacity in Macedonia and elsewhere, and have been distributed by tens, twenties, and thirties in the various villages, with a view of their forming a nucleus for the general armed levy which would operate to effect the contemplated union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia, preparations for which are being actively pushed forward, some of the nearest centres of work being Keupri-Keui, Shumla, Pravadi, and Kotel (Kazan).

In several districts compulsory enrolment of peasants has been going on, with the result that there is a lack of arms to gather in properly the harvest of the country.

Pappa Kosta, a noted insurgent Chief, arrived here lately with some companions, and is engaged in forwarding the union movement, which it is considered will not be long delayed ere attempted, but will take place as soon as political affairs seem to afford a favourable opening.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. BROPHY.

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No. 84.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 135. Confidential.)

*Sophia, August* 24, 1880.

My Lord,

IN my Confidential telegram of the 18th instant, I had the honour to report that my Russian colleague had read to me confidentially a despatch which he had received from his Government with regard to the line of action he should pursue with reference to the attempts which were said to be being made for the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia. This despatch, after giving a review of the existing state of things, laid great stress upon the necessity of maintaining the European concert, which depended upon the execution of the Treaty of Berlin, and would be endangered by any revolutionary movement on the part of the Bulgarians.

Although M. Coumany's general instructions had pointed out the necessity of maintaining the existing state of things, the Russian Government thought it advisable to instruct him again to discourage any such movement on the part of the Bulgarians.

M. Coumany informed me that he had told M. Zancoff that Bulgaria could not count upon assistance from Russia in any scheme of adventure, and that he had strongly pressed upon his Excellency the necessity of the Principality remaining perfectly quiet.

M. Coumany also read to me a despatch which he had addressed to his Government on the subject of a visit which M. Stoiloff, the Prince of Bulgaria's Secretary, had recently paid to Philippopopli upon the pretext of visiting his family. Before starting, M. Stoiloff had called upon M. Coumany, and had mentioned that he might take advantage of his visit to Philippopoli to sound the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia as to the possibility of effecting the union. M. Coumany, who had done nothing to encourage this confidence on the part of M. Stoiloff, replied by stating that any attempt to bring about the union would be discouraged by Russia, and would be certain to result in failure in the present state of the Bulgarian army, which was not provided either with a commissariat or with a medical department.

As far as I am able to judge, there does not seem to be any immediate probability of a movement taking place, and the advice given by M. Coumany seems to have had the effect of making the Government understand the necessity of remaining quiet. There can, however, I think, be no doubt that a strong desire exists for the union, and that if a favourable opportunity should occur it would be taken advantage of.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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No. 85.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 136.)

*Sophia, August* 24, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received from the Acting British Vice-Consul at Varna, reporting the establishment of a so-called Commercial Bulgarian Society, the real but secret object of which is to collect funds for the accomplishment of the union of the Principality with Eastern Roumelia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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Inclosure in No. 85.

*Acting Vice-Consul Brophy to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Varna, August* 14, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that since a few days has been established at Varna a so-called Commercial Bulgarian Society, the real but secret object of which is to collect funds for the accomplishment of the union of this Principality with Eastern Roumelia, the subscriptions will probably take the form of a national mutual loan, the subscribers, in the event of success, to be repaid with interest, further secured by the funds, &c., wrested from the dispossessed Mussulmans.



I have good reason to believe that similar branches have been, or are being, established all over the country, and most probably also in the adjacent province.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. G. BROPHY.

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No. 86.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 520.)

*Vienna, August* 30, 1880.

My Lord,

I ASKED M. de Kállay this afternoon if he was yet in a position to enable me to inform your Lordip whether the Austro-Hungarian Government would agree to the note which you had proposed to address to the Porte upon the Montenegrin frontier question, with the omission of the word "completeness," as suggested in your telegram of the 27th instant, of which the substance had been communicated to him.

He does not think that the omission of the word would be sufficient to meet the objection he had made to the French proposal, according to which there would remain the question of Dinosi to be discussed after the cession of Dulcigno had been carried out, as he continued strongly of opinion that the decision to be come to by the Powers should be so clearly stated as regards the whole of this frontier as to leave nothing for future discussion; and that they should, therefore, either distinctly inform the Turkish Government that if the rest of the arrangement was carried out the cession of Dinosi would not be required, or that they should maintain the whole of the demand contained in the collective note.

He was quite ready to join in the latter course if it was thought desirable, for although the Imperial Government had suggested a course which seemed to them to meet the requirements of the case, they did not cling to it from any feeling of *amour-propre*, and only wished that the language held to the Porte should be explicit and defined. He would go the length of saying that, if the Porte meant that the frontier-line should be drawn strictly, according to the words of the Treaty of Berlin, from the position in which Plaonica was found to be really placed, instead of abiding by the Commissioners' line, and the Powers thought that, for the sake of finishing with the question, this might be complied with, the Austro-Hungarian Government would not hesitate to agree to it, though they had suggested the maintenance of the line from the lake adopted by the Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 87.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 523. Confidential.)

*Vienna, September* 1, 1880.

My Lord,

THE information reported by Mr. Gould in his telegram of the 26th ultimo, as having been given to him by the Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs, respecting the preparations that have been made in Macedonia for a Bulgarian rising, agrees entirely with the reports which have been received by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

They believe these preparations to be well matured, and certain to bear fruits as soon as the opportunity appears favourable.

The engagement of a number of Russian non-commissioned officers for service in East Roumelia, reported a few days ago by Mr. Stephen, is also confirmed by the Austro-Hungarian Agents, and as this could not be done without the sanction of the Russian Government, the latter is regarded here as undoubtedly stimulating a future movement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 88.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 525.) *Vienna, September 1, 1880.*

My Lord,

AT a conversation which I had this afternoon with the Turkish Ambassador, I gathered from him very clearly that the meaning of his Government with respect to the Montenegrin frontier is that the line to the east of the Lake of Scutari should be that resulting from a strict application of the words of the Treaty, and not that which was fixed by the majority of the Commission of Delimitation.

He has made no intimation to this effect to the Austro-Hungarian Government, and I am unable to say whether Edhem Pasha was merely conveying his own interpretation of Abédine Pasha's note, or was speaking from positive knowledge.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 89.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 405.) *Berlin, August 30, 1880.*

My Lord,

I RECEIVED to-day by post your Lordship's draft instructions for the commanders of the ships under orders for Dulcigno, with the modifications suggested by the Austrian Government which have already been agreed to by the German Government.

Prince Hohenlohe told me that he had not yet heard whether the French Government had accepted them in their amended form.

I have, &c.

(For Lord Odo Russell),

(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

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No. 90.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 410. Confidential.) *Berlin, September 3, 1880.*

My Lord,

I LEARN from Mr. Corbett's despatch No. 279 of the 21st ultimo, that the Greek Chargé d'Affaires at Paris has informed his Government that the apparent withdrawal of the French Government from taking any active part in a solution of the frontier question is attributed to the influence of Germany.

Some of my colleagues here are of opinion that the French Government took alarm at the loan of German officials to the Porte by Prince Bismarck, and saw in it an anti-French intrigue, but the German Government has certainly not sought to exercise any direct influence against Greek aspirations in Paris.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 91.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 412.) *Berlin, September 3, 1880.*

My Lord,

THE French Chargé d'Affaires, Comte de Couclaux, had the goodness to tell me that he had this day received instructions from Paris to inform the German Government that the French Government concurred in the latest suggestions of the Austrian Government respecting the Montenegrin frontier, which have, I believe, been already agreed to by all the other Powers.

I have, &c.

(For Lord Odo Russell),

(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

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No. 92.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)*

(No. 817.) *Paris, September 4, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 431 of yesterday evening, I was only able to see Baron de Courcel at half-past ten this morning, and I then put into his hands a memorandum embodying the terms of that telegram, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith.

I told M. de Courcel that I was particularly anxious to be able to telegraph the answer of the French Government to my communication without delay, as your Lordship had informed me that there would be a Cabinet Council in London at midday.

After some little conversation, M. de Courcel requested me to accompany him to the Ministry of Marine, and we found Admiral Jauréguiberry there.

After his Excellency had read my memorandum, I asked him what answer I should telegraph to Her Majesty's Government. The following summary of his reply was ultimately sanctioned by the Admiral on the part of his Government:—

The French Government are fully sensible of the offer of Her Majesty's Government as contained in your Lordship's telegram, but they must persist in thinking that there is a particular advantage in a complete identity of instructions to the Admirals of the combined fleet which is about to proceed to take part in the naval demonstration off Dulcigno. It was really with this object that, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship yesterday by telegraph, and also by my despatch No. 813, they have sent to their Ambassadors their proposed modified instructions to be laid before the Powers, with the hope that the latter may accept them, always with the view of securing "identity of instruction," and having done so, they feel that they must await the answers of the Powers before accepting your Lordship's new proposal.

Further, the French Government believe that the acceptance by the Powers of the French modified instructions could be obtained if Her Majesty's Government would, on their side, inform the Powers that they themselves have no objection to those instructions.

I could not help expressing some disappointment at finding that the French Government were not disposed to accept your Lordship's proposal without further discussion and delay, and, without unduly urging such acceptance (in conformity with your Lordship's instructions), I made Admiral Jauréguiberry and M. de Courcel understand that, inasmuch as four Powers out of five had agreed to one alternative, it appeared that your Lordship did not, as at present advised, see your way to disturb the arrangement come to with those four Powers.

"Time presses, however," I finished by saying; "the Cabinet meets at 12 o'clock, and you can understand that I wish to telegraph without further delay to my Government the answer which the French Government desire me to send to Lord Granville's telegram."

I then took down the answer given by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, and read it over to him in the presence of M. de Courcel. On my return to the Embassy I telegraphed its contents to your Lordship, and its substance is contained in this despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure in No. 92.

*Memorandum.*

A TELEGRAM sent to Mr. Adams yesterday evening by Lord Granville is to the following effect:—

"Lord Granville acknowledges the receipt from Mr. Adams of the proposed instructions to the French Admiral, which were communicated to Mr. Adams by Baron de Courcel on the 2nd instant.

"His Lordship regrets that the French Government should not have felt it to be in their power to adopt the modified instructions which had been proposed to them through Mr. Adams, although he allows that they have done their utmost, without departing from the opinions which they had previously expressed, in order that the divergence between their views and those of Her Majesty's Government may be as little as possible apparent.

"As the other Powers have agreed to the modified instructions proposed by Her Majesty's Government, Lord Granville does not feel justified in disturbing the arrangements which

have thus been adopted after prolonged communications; a risk would otherwise be incurred of continued delay. But with a view of meeting the objections raised by the French Government, Her Majesty's Government are ready to issue to their Admiral a supplementary instruction, requesting him, in the event of the command devolving on him, not to assume any authority over, nor to call upon the French Admiral to take any action that would be inconsistent in any way with his instructions.

"Lord Granville adds that as two or three ships are the most that are likely to be wanted to act, supposing any measures should become necessary in order to aid the Montenegrins to take possession of Dulcigno, there is no reason why the French ships should participate in such measures, at least without the previous sanction of their own Government."

*Paris, September* 4, 1880.

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No. 93.

*Memorandum by Captain Sale.—(Received September* 6.)

REFERRING to the Circular memorandum from the Sublime Porte, dated the 2nd September, which was handed in by Musurus Bey on the 4th instant, it is to be noted that the first part of Riza Pasha's telegram therein quoted appears to be based on a misunderstanding of the terms of the Dulcigno arrangement.

Riza Pasha says that the handing over of territory up to the "Ottolenghi" line (north of the lake) would be resented by the Albanians.

This would doubtless be the case, as this line takes from the Hotti people land which certainly belongs to them; but the Dulcigno arrangement does not take this line as the boundary of Montenegro; it takes a line which is, in fact, the boundary of the territory of the Hotti tribe, as determined by the Commission on the spot.

The so-called "Ottolenghi" line is that which was proposed by the Italian member of the Boundary Commission, but which found no supporters.

The inclosed map shows this line, as also the new line now proposed by the Porte.

The new line, which is physically a very bad one, would include in Albania several almost wholly Slav villages.

(Signed) M. T. SALE.

*September* 6, 1880.

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No. 94.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September* 6.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, September* 3, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of a letter this day received from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 29th August, from Palermo, referring to an interview he had held with Rear-Admiral Fincati, of the Italian navy, on which occasion that officer showed him the Protocol of the Austro-Hungarian Government, pointing out the disadvantages of Dulcigno as an anchorage for the combined squadrons, and suggesting Ragusa instead of Cattaro as a rendezvous for them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 94.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)

Sir, *"Alexandra," at Palermo, August* 29, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that last night at 10 o'clock I received their telegram ordering me to hold myself in readiness to proceed to Ragusa, and that having, in a private note, communicated the substance of it to Rear-Admiral Fincati, of the Italian navy, that officer was so good as to visit me this morning for the purpose of showing me a most important document which he had received from his Minister of Marine.



2. It was a printed copy of the Protocol delivered to Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the Prince de Wrede on behalf of the Austro-Hungarian Government, objecting in some respects to the line of conduct proposed by England to be followed should it become necessary to make a naval demonstration before Dulcigno, pointing out the great disadvantages of Dulcigno as an anchorage for the combined squadrons, and suggesting Ragusa instead of Cattaro as a rendezvous for them.

3. I read this paper with great attention, and I consider the proposals it contained so reasonable that I venture with the utmost diffidence and respect to express a hope that they may be adopted. As Admiral Fincati did not propose to leave a copy of the Protocol with me, I did not ask him for one, the more especially as I hope to be shortly furnished with one from Whitehall.

4. Admiral Fincati renewed the expression of his readiness to place himself and his ships under my orders, to which I replied in courteous terms that it was impossible for me to accept the offer with which he honoured me until I had received instructions from their Lordships to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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No. 95.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September* 6.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, September* 5, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, No. 55, dated Gravosa, Saturday, 4th September, together with the reply forwarded to that officer.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 95.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 4, 1880.

ARRIVED.

Austrian Admiral with two iron-clads here. His flag in a wooden frigate. Russian Admiral in the habit of seeing Prince Montenegro; his frigate here. Nothing known of French; am I to wait them? After which [ ? ] before entering on business. English Consul absent from Ragusa.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 95.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Telegraphic.) *Admiralty, September* 5, 1880.

YOUR official instructions will be sent to you by Captain Sale. You will be informed by telegraph when he leaves England for Brindisi.

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No. 96.

*Abédine Pasha to Musurus Bey.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September* 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 4 Septembre*, 1880.

SUITE à mon télégramme du 2.

Les conditions auxquelles a été subordonnée la cession de Dulcigno sont indiquées en détails dans ce télégramme.

Je crois donc superflu de revenir sur l'importance des sacrifices que le Gouvernement Impérial a été amené à s'imposer.

Les mesures adoptées pour calmer les esprits en Albanie ont déjà commencé à produire leur effet.

Au moment où un certain but a été obtenu au prix de grands efforts, nous craignons que la démonstration navale projetée ne vienne compromettre sérieusement l'œuvre de pacification que nous poursuivons; ce projet, s'il venait à se réaliser, non-seulement n'atteindrait pas le but qu'on se propose, mais il compliquerait la situation déjà si difficile en surexcitant les Albanais.

Je ne saurais assez vous recommander de faire tout ce qui est possible pour prévenir l'apparition de la flotte combinée des Puissances dans les eaux de Dulcigno.

Il y va du succès de notre tâche.

Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture du présent télégramme à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, et à lui en laisser copie si son Excellence le désire.

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No. 97.

*M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, September 6.)*

(Télégraphique.) *Livadia, le* 23 Août / 4 Septembre, 1880.

VU l'insistance du Prince Nicolas à conserver Dinosch, sans lequel la frontière Monténégrine serait trop exposée, nous hésitons à donner notre adhésion à la proposition Autrichienne.

D'ailleurs, la Porte, comme le prouve sa dernière proposition, basée sur un rapport de son Commissaire à Scutari, Véli Riza, ne se contenterait pas de cette concession.

Dans cet état de choses, nous pensons que le seul moyen d'arriver promptement à une solution définitive serait de s'en tenir fermement à la combinaison proposée par le Gouvernement Anglais, et de ne pas tarder à faire occuper Dulcigno par les Monténégrins pour procéder ensuite à l'exécution du reste.

Il est, selon nous, hors de doute que toute nouvelle concession ne mènerait qu'à des négociations interminables, dont le but serait de compromettre l'œuvre des Conférences de Berlin, et de faire manquer la démonstration navale.

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No. 98.

*Earl Granville to Lord Odo Russell.**

(No. 490.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 6, 1880.

THE Powers have all accepted in principle the self-denying Protocol proposed in my telegram of the 17th July, and we agree to the modifications proposed by Austria, according to which Protocol will run as follows:—

"The Governments represented by the Undersigned, in order to prove anew the entire disinterestedness with which they pursue the execution of all the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, engage not to seek in any arrangements which may be come to in consequence of their concerted action for the execution of the said Treaty in regard to the Montenegrin question, and eventually the Greek question, any augmentation of territory, any exclusive influence, or any commercial advantage for their subjects which those of every other nation may not equally obtain."

Ask the Government to which you are accredited to authorize their Representatives at Constantinople to sign the Protocol, if they have not already done so (I understand that only the Austrian and Italian Representatives have yet been authorized).

Her Majesty's Government consider that it would be advisable to communicate the Protocol at once to the Porte, as a proof of the disinterested motives of the Powers in pressing the settlement of the Greek and Montenegrin questions.

Ask the Government to which you are accredited if they will agree to this being done.

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* Also to Mr. Adams (No. 432), Sir H. Elliot (No. 546), Sir A. Paget (No. 533), and the Earl of Dufferin (No. 606).



No. 99.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(No. 607.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 6, 1880.

INQUIRE of the Government to which you are accredited whether they adhere to their agreement to our instructions to the naval Commanders. We appreciate the desire of the French Government to approximate their views to ours, but think if their modifications were accepted by all the other Powers it might, in certain contingencies, be fatal to the expected benefit.

The compromise proposed by us seems to us not unfair.

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No. 100.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.*

(No. 608.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 6, 1880.

ALL the Powers have consented to the note proposed in our telegram of the 31st ultimo.

Prince of Montenegro has stated that he will conform himself strictly to the wishes of the Powers.

We fear disaccord if the question is reopened, and hope much that the Emperor will consent to give immediate orders to M. Novikoff to join other Ambassadors in signing the note.

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No. 101.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.†*

(No. 610.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 6, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

WITH reference to Mr. Green's telegram No. 87, ask Government to which you are accredited if they will instruct their Representative in Montenegro to join Mr. Green in urging the Prince of Montenegro to commence his preparations at once to occupy Dulcigno district.

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No. 102.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 6, 5·15 P.M.)

(No. 207.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 6, 1880, 1 P.M.

I HAVE received following from Admiral Seymour, dated yesterday:—

"No Consul here; Italian acting as such no good. Please send Mr. St. John if you can spare him, or somebody who can ascertain what is going on. I am absolutely without information."

Consul St. John can start by first opportunity, but cannot arrive at Ragusa under twelve days. Shall he go?

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No. 103.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 484.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 6, 1880, 7 P.M.

YOURS No. 207.

You need not send St. John to Ragusa.

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* Also to Lord Odo Russell (No. 491), Sir H. Elliot (No. 546), and Mr. Macdonell (No. 534).

† Also to Lord Odo Russell (No. 496), Sir H. Elliot (No. 551), Mr. Adams (No. 437) and Mr. Macdonell (No. 589).

No. 104.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 434.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

Sir,

I INCLOSE herewith copies of Colonel Wilson's Report on Eastern Roumelia, and I authorize your Excellency to communicate a copy to the Turkish Government, as suggested in your despatch No. 292 of the 27th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 105.

*Earl Granville to Acting Consul-General Hunt.*

(No. 6.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

Sir,

IT is alleged that large numbers of Russian non-commissioned officers are being dispatched to Eastern Roumelia from Odessa, and I have to request that you will make private inquiries into the truth of these reports, and that you will furnish me with any reliable information which you may be able to obtain on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 106.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(No. 447. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

My Lord,

THE Great Powers having all accepted in principle the self-denying clause proposed in my telegram of the 17th July, I transmit to you herewith copy of a Protocol containing modifications proposed by Austria, and which have been agreed to by Her Majesty's Government; and I have to request your Excellency to ask the Russian Government to authorize their Representative at Constantinople to sign it.

You will at the same time inform the Russian Government that Her Majesty's Government consider that it would be advisable to communicate this Protocol to the Porte as soon as possible, as a proof of the disinterested motives of the Great Powers in pressing for an early settlement of the Greek and Montenegrin questions, and ascertain whether they will agree to this being done.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 107.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.†*

(No. 448. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

My Lord,

I HAVE to request your Excellency to ascertain from the Russian Government whether they adhere to their agreement to the draft Instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose should be given to the Commander of the squadrons about to take part in the Naval Demonstration off Dulcigno.

While appreciating the desire of the French Government to meet the views of that of Her Majesty in this matter, Her Majesty's Government think that if the modifications suggested by France were accepted by all the other Powers, the condition they propose

* Also to Mr. Adams, Lord Odo Russell, Sir H. Elliot, and Mr. Macdonell.
† Also to Mr. Macdonell, Sir H. Elliot, and Lord Odo Russell.



might, in certain contingencies, be fatal to the benefit to be expected from the Demonstration.

The compromise proposed by Her Majesty's Government seems to them not unfair.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 108.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.*

(No. 449. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

My Lord,

ALL the Powers have concurred in the terms of the note which, in my telegram of the 31st ultimo, it was proposed should be addressed to the Porte on the subject of the Montenegrin Frontier question, and Prince Nicholas has expressed his readiness to conform himself strictly to the wishes of the Powers.

If the question should now be reopened, Her Majesty's Government fear that it may create differences of opinion, and they earnestly hope that His Majesty the Emperor of Russia will consent to give immediate orders to his Ambassador at Constantinople to join his colleagues in signing the proposed note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 109.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(No. 450. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Montenegro has been desired to urge Prince Nicholas at once to make his preparations for the occupation of the Dulcigno district, and I have to request that your Excellency will ask the Government to which you are accredited to send instructions of a like nature to their Representative in that Principality.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 110.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.*

(No. 500.)
*Foreign Office, September 6, 1880.*

Sir,

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and informed me that his Government accepted the form of answer to the Porte respecting the Montenegrin frontier proposed by the Austrian Government, provided it were accepted by the other Powers, and especially by England.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 111.

*Lord E. Fitzmaurice to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 100.)
*Buyukdere, August 26, 1880.*

My Lord,

THE European Commission for Eastern Roumelia having for the present suspended its labours, I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity thereby afforded of recording my warm acknowledgment of the services of those who were deputed to assist me.

Mr. Cartwright has shown the greatest ability in the work of the Chancellerie.

* Also to Mr. Macdonell, Mr. Adams, Sir H. Elliot, and Lord Odo Russell.

He has also acted most efficiently as one of the Secretaries of the Commission, especially in relation to the revision and final preparation for the press of the new law.

Lieutenant Vincent's varied accomplishments as a linguist have been of the greatest service; but he has also rendered most efficient assistance in obtaining information generally, and, above all, in the preparation of the chapter relating to the gendarmerie and police.

Your Lordship placed at my disposal the services of the several Consuls connected with the country. I have already had occasion to recognize the great value of which the knowledge and experience of Mr. Sandwith, Her Majesty's Consul in the Island of Crete, have been to me. I also owe an especial acknowledgment to Mr. Blunt, Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, whose long and intimate acquaintance with the country is known to your Lordship; to Mr. Calvert, Her Majesty's Consul at Adrianople, who so ably discharges the duties to which he has recently been called; and to Mr. St. John, Her Majesty's Consul at Prisrend.

I have invariably received the most courteous assistance from the gentlemen connected with Her Majesty's Embassy and Her Majesty's Consulate at Constantinople, but I desire to record in an especial manner my sense of the great advantage which the ability and knowledge of Mr. Stavrides have on many occasions been to me in my work.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

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No. 112.

*Lord E. Fitzmaurice to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7.*)

(No. 101.)
My Lord, *Buyukdéré, August* 27, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a memorandum on the population of North-east Albania, prepared by M. Alvarez, of Her Majesty's Consulate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

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Inclosure in No. 112.

*Remarks on the Population of North-east Albania.*

UPPER Albania, or Ghegaria, as it is frequently called, is divided into two unequal parts by the Drin, and the most northern of these is similarly divided by that branch of it which rises on the Bosnian frontier, and is known as the White Drin. It is to the country between this stream and the present Servian and Bulgarian frontiers, between the Schar-dagh on the south and Bosnia on the north, that the following remarks mainly apply:—

The races that inhabit this district, which politically comprises the greater part of the Vilayet of Kossowa and a portion of that of Monastir, and historically the whole of old or Turkish Servia, are the Albanian and Serb. To them considerably more than nine-tenths of the population belong, the remainder being unequally distributed among the Bulgarians, who, mixed with Albanians, are to be found in the neighbourhood of Katchanic and the Kara-dagh, several Osmanlis settled at Prisrend and Nowoberds, descendants of the colonists, sent there by Sultan Bayazid after the Battle of Kossowa, and a few Jews.

Of the two races, the Albanians are numerically far superior to the Servians, who are most numerous in the tract of country through which the line of railway passes, the celebrated Kossowopolie and in the Sandjak of Nowi-bazar. The Albanian element in the Vilayet of Kossowa has recently been still further increased by the accession of many thousands of refugees from the towns of Uscub, Procupli, Kurschumli, Lescowtcha, or Lescowatz, and their surrounding districts, now in virtue of the Treaty of Berlin, in Servian possession, and which, prior to the late war, were exclusively inhabited by the descendants of twelve Gheg tribes, which at a remote period emigrated from Upper Albania, properly so-called. Large numbers of Albanians are also to be met with in the Sandjak of Nowi-bazar, and in the recently created one of Taschleja as far as Sienitza, where the exclusively Bosnian population begins.



Generally speaking, the Mahommedans are Albanians, and the Orthodox, or Greek Christians, Serbs. But in certain parts of the country, notably in Prisrend, Pristina, and Nowi-bazar, many of the Mussulmans are undoubtedly of Serb origin, their ancestors having, like their Bosnian compatriots, embraced Islam at the time of the Turkish conquest of the country, with the view of preserving their estates, and their descendants have gradually become identified with the dominant race—the Albanians—with whom they thoroughly sympathize. The Roman Catholic faith is exclusively professed by Albanians of the towns of Prisrend, Gilan on the Bulgarian frontier, Ipec, and Jacowa, and their immediate dependencies. At Prisrend they number 2,000, at Gilan but a few hundreds, while it is only in the two last places that they have a majority over Mahommedans and Orthodox Christians combined: the latter predominate in Old Servia.

It has been asserted that in the event of North-eastern Albania passing into the hands of a Christian Power, *i.e.*, Servia or Austria, the Mahommedan Albanians would in a body return to the faith of their forefathers.* Notwithstanding the absence of any religious fanaticism like that existing in Bosnia at the present day, which the action of the Albanians, whenever their national interests have been endangered, has conclusively proved, it is extremely unlikely that the Mussulmans, whether land-owners, peasants, or inhabitants of the towns, would change their religion unless they were subjected to great religious persecution and loss of property. To support this conversion theory, and to show the natural Albanian indifference to forms of religion, attention is drawn to the fact that Christian names are frequently given to Mussulman children, that the mosques and churches are alternately attended, and that the prayers of Christian priests are looked on as efficacious in curing disease, &c. The first circumstance is not confined to Albania alone; a practice exists in Armenia, especially among families whose Mahommedanism is not of long date, of giving Armenian Christian and family names; the second is the result of the traditions handed down from father to son respecting the original patron Saints of the family, and the third may be said of many ignorant Turks of the lower classes all over the Empire. Any idea of conversion has now been quite put a stop to by the natural hatred existing between the Arnauts and the Servians of the Principality, which, fanned by the late war, has been intensified by the expulsion of Ghegs in large numbers from the territory recently acquired by Servia, and the consequent annoyance which their co-religionists suffer from them.

With regard to the number of the inhabitants of the country, a paragraph in a recent issue of the official "Kossowa Gazette" states the number of the males in that province at nearly 313,000, which would give a total of about 1,500,000. Deducting the population of the Sandjaks of Uscub and Taschlega which do not belong to North-east Albania, and adding on that of the Sandjak of Prisrend, the total number of inhabitants is about 1,200,000 or 1,300,000. Of these from 800,000 to 900,000 are Ghegs, nearly 400,000 Serbs, and the remainder, including nearly 500 Jews, and several hundred Turks and Bulgarians.

In religion, about 800,000 are Mahommedan, nearly 100,000 Roman Catholics, and the rest Christians of the Oriental Communion.

A verification of the official numbers of the inhabitants being impossible in the present abnormal state of the country, the above figures are approximate.

(Signed) J. ALVAREZ.

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No. 113.

*Lord E. Fitzmaurice to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7.*)

(No. 102.)
My Lord, *Buyukdéré, August* 27, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of the 12th *Compte-rendu* for the sitting of the 4th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

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* In Sandjak of Pristina they number from 12 to 15 per cent. of the population.

Inclosure in No. 113.

*Compte-Rendu.—Séance No. 12, tenue le 4 Août, 1880 (28 Chaban, 1297), au Yali de Réchid Bey, à Balta-Liman.*

Présidence de son Excellence Assim Pacha.

Étaient présents :

Pour l'Allemagne—
M. de Braunschweig, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale d'Allemagne à Constantinople.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie—
Le Baron de Kosjek, Conseiller de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à Constantinople.

Pour la France—
M. Aubaret, Consul-Général.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
Lord E. Fitzmaurice, Membre du Parlement.

Pour l'Italie—
Le Chevalier Vernoni, Premier Drogman de l'Ambassade d'Italie à Constantinople.

Pour la Russie—
M. Hitrovo, Conseiller d'Etat Actuel, Consul-Général.

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Assim Pacha, Vizir, Membre du Sénat.
Abro Effendi, Fonctionnaire de Premier Rang Première Classe, Conseiller d'Etat.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure.

Le compte-rendu de la précédente séance, lu par M. Séon, est adopté.

*Son Excellence Assim Pacha* dépose sur le bureau de la Commission une carte des vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe indiquant les frontières de ces dits vilayets.

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* fait observer que le tracé des frontières administratives ne lui semble pas exact sur la carte présentée par les Commissaires Ottomans.

*La Commission* ayant décidé de passer prochainement à la seconde lecture du Projet de Loi, M. Aubaret, Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, et Abro Effendi sont, d'un commun accord, désignés pour former une Sous-Commission préparatoire.

*MM. Cartwright et de Gritzenko* sont adjoints à ces messieurs.

*M. Hitrovo* lit une déclaration (voir annexe au présent compte-rendu) d'après laquelle le Commissaire de Russie constate qu'à son avis, la question judiciaire n'a pas été suffisamment étudiée au sein de la Commission pour y faire l'objet d'une discussion immédiate.

Conformément au vœu exprimé par la Commission, Vahan Effendi, Mustéchar du Ministère de la Justice et Parnis Effendi, Conseiller Légal de la Sublime Porte, sont introduits dans la salle des séances.

*Le Président* invite ces messieurs à donner à la Commission quelques éclaircissements sur les lois judiciaires élaborées dernièrement par la Sublime Porte, et à indiquer les différences les plus saillantes qui existent entre les susdites lois et le Règlement Judiciaire préparé par quelques-uns des membres de la Commission.

*Son Excellence Vahan Effendi*, invité par le Président à prendre la parole, dit :—

"J'ai parcouru attentivement le Projet qui a été préparé par MM. les Commissaires sur la Justice.

"Ce Projet embrasse trois points, savoir :

"1. La base de l'organisation judiciaire ;

"2. Certains principes généraux de procédure ;

"3. Quelques principes de droit commun.

"En abordant la première partie de ce Projet, j'ai constaté qu'il renfermait plusieurs des points de la loi promulguée dernièrement par le Gouvernement Impérial ; seulement je me permettrai de faire remarquer aux honorables membres de cette Commission que le travail fait par le Ministère de la Justice est plus complet, plus précis, et plus détaillé, avantages à ne pas perdre de vue.

"Ce Projet n'est qu'une reproduction partielle de nos lois promulguées récemment, lois qui, toutefois, seront modifiées et améliorées par le Département de la Justice au fur et à mesure que l'utilité en sera reconnue.



"Je suis d'avis de doter toutes les populations de l'Empire de lois et règlements uniformes, car mon esprit se refuse à comprendre les raisons pour lesquelles on établirait des organisations hétérogènes dans différents vilayets qui, en somme, appartiennent tous à un même Souverain, à un même Empire.

"Agir de la sorte ne serait-ce pas semer le germe de la discorde parmi les habitants d'un même pays?

"Vu ces raisons majeures, il serait plus sage, je pense, de différer la discussion des Règlements sur la Justice jusqu'à ce que la traduction, qui pourra se faire en quelques jours, de nos lois promulguées récemment vous soit soumise afin que vous en preniez connaissance.

"En comparant votre Projet à notre Code, vous verrez que nos lois sont plus claires, plus précises, et plus détaillées, et je ne doute pas que vous ne les acceptiez alors de préférence aux Règlements que vous avez préparés.

"J'aborde maintenant le second point. Le Gouvernement a promulgué dernièrement un Code de Procédure Civile et un Code d'Instruction Criminelle.

"Les principes énoncés à cet égard dans votre Projet sont vagues et incomplets. Pour que votre Projet soit complet, il faudrait y introduire un grand nombre de dispositions qui y manquent en ce moment. On ne peut se contenter de quelques principes. Mais au lieu de procéder ainsi, n'est-il pas préférable d'adopter les lois de procédure actuellement en vigueur?

"Pour ce qui est du troisième point ayant trait aux principes de droit commun, je trouve inutile d'en faire mention dans ce Projet, vu que la constitution de l'Empire les contient.

"Ainsi se résument, Messieurs, mes appréciations sur l'ensemble de votre Projet. Je trouve, de même que je l'ai dit plus haut, qu'il n'y a qu'une alternative : ou il faut établir des lois de procédure ou bien adopter celles qui existent."

*Le Baron de Kosjek* prie son Excellence Vahan Effendi de faire connaître la différence qui existe entre le Projet et la loi préparée par le Gouvernement.

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* relève un des arguments développés par son Excellence Vahan Effendi. Se basant sur l'Article XXIII du Traité de Berlin, le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne, tout en reconnaissant avec l'honorable Mustéchar du Ministère de la Justice, qu'en principe, l'uniformité de la justice doit être, autant que possible, maintenue dans l'Empire, ne pense pas cependant qu'il y ait, pour cela, obligation pour la Commission Européenne de maintenir purement et simplement, dans les vilayets de la Roumélie, les lois Ottomanes.

Le Gouvernement de la Reine n'a jamais accepté en principe le Code Judiciaire que la Sublime Porte a jugé bon de promulguer sans consulter la Commission Européenne. Si le Gouvernement Anglais ne l'ignore pas complètement, c'est purement par acte de courtoisie.

Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice ajoute qu'il a déjà déclaré, il y a un mois, aux Commissaires Ottomans que la nouvelle organisation judiciaire était ignorée de la Commission, laquelle était privée de la possibilité d'en prendre connaissance, même à titre de renseignement, le Projet n'ayant pas été traduit.

Le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne termine en exprimant ses regrets de ce que ses collègues Ottomans n'aient pas jugé utile de prendre à temps les mesures nécessaires pour faire connaître à la Commission le Projet d'organisation judiciaire élaboré par la Sublime Porte, comme ils avaient été invités à le faire.

*Son Excellence Assim Pacha* oppose comme objection à la dernière partie des paroles de son collègue de la Grande Bretagne, qu'il a demandé en temps opportun la communication à la Commission de la traduction des nouvelles lois. "Si cette traduction ne nous est pas encore parvenue," dit son Excellence Assim Pacha, "nous ne pouvons attribuer ce retard qu'au manque de temps matériel."

*Le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au Ministère de la Justice* repousse les arguments formulés par Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice. Il fait observer que de même que tout Gouvernement indépendant, le Gouvernement Impérial, en promulguant les lois et règlements dont il est question, a exercé un droit incontestable.

*Parnis Effendi* émet son opinion dans les termes suivants :—

"Le Projet est divisé en deux parties. Je ne parlerai pour le moment que de la seconde.

"Quelques règlements et quelques principes de procédure seulement ne peuvent suffire ; il faut, quant à moi, les éliminer du Projet. Je suis d'avis que la Commission ne doit s'occuper que de la première partie qui vise l'organisation de la Justice et omettre les autres Articles, à partir du 27e, qui traitent de la procédure."

De plus, Parnis Effendi est d'avis de faire appliquer des lois uniformes à tous les Tribunaux.

*Son Excellence Vahan Effendi* est aussi de cet avis. Les lois promulguées par le Gouvernement Impérial ne différant pas de beaucoup de ce Projet, il conseille à la Commission d'adopter ces lois parce qu'elles sont plus détaillées et plus correctes.

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* déclare attacher la plus grande importance aux Articles 10 et suivants.

Peut-être même vaudrait-il mieux, dit-il, renvoyer, comme l'a suggéré Parnis Effendi, ces Articles au Chapitre 1er du Projet de Loi qui a rapport aux droits généraux des habitants.

L'état des prisons dans l'Empire est, ainsi que le Délégué de la Grande Brétagne a pu lui-même le constater *de visu*, des moins satisfaisants. Les règles et les formalités employées pour l'arrestation et l'incarcération des sujets de l'Empire sont des plus irrégulières. L'un des premiers devoirs de la Commission est, évidemment, d'établir d'une façon stable et précise les principes généraux qui doivent régir cette question.

Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice ne nie pas que c'est là peut-être une question de procédure. Mais même en l'admettant, cette question de procédure touche aux intérêts les plus importants des habitants du pays. Elle est la sauvegarde des libertés dont ils sont appelés à jouir.

La loi de l'*habeas corpus*, en Angleterre, n'est de même, à un certain point de vue, qu'une loi de procédure. Elle a néanmoins, depuis le jour où elle a été promulguée, servi de base et de garantie à toutes les libertés dont jouissent, à travers les siècles, les citoyens du Royaume-Uni.

En résumé, Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice déclare, qu'à son avis, si au point de vue de la science du droit, les Articles 10 et suivants touchent à des questions de procédure, ces Articles n'en sont pas moins indispensables dans le Projet de Loi élaboré par la Commission et doivent y être maintenus *in extenso*.

*M. Vernoni* désire savoir si la loi dont parle son Excellence le Mustéchar du Ministère de la Justice a été promulguée ou bien si elle est en révision à la Commission instituée à la Sublime Porte.

*Son Excellence Vahan Effendi*, faisant allusion aux paroles de Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice sur les droits publics, trouve qu'on ne peut poser dans les lois des principes contraires aux droits publics déjà existant dans les Constitutions des Etats. En réponse à M. Vernoni, le Mustéchar de la Justice déclare que les lois sur la procédure civile et criminelle sont promulguées conformément aux principes généraux de la constitution de l'Empire. Il s'agit de savoir, dit son Excellence, si ces principes généraux doivent être reproduits dans ce Projet.

Comme le faisait remarquer avec tant de justesse Parnis Effendi, ne consigner dans ce Projet que quelques principes généraux, c'est vouloir n'attacher aucune importance aux autres lois et principes de l'Empire.

*Parnis Effendi* pense qu'en intercalant dans le Projet seulement quelques principes sur la procédure, on dérogerait aux principes de la Constitution et des autres Actes de l'Empire. De plus, ajoute-t-il, les Drogmans ont déclaré en siégeant à la Commission *ad hoc*, que pour ce qui concernait les Tribunaux du pays, ils n'avaient pas de qualité pour discuter sur les lois s'y rattachant.

La plupart des Commissaires ayant réitéré à Vahan Effendi la prière de signaler à la Commission les différences qu'il trouvait entre le Projet et les nouvelles lois de l'Empire, son Excellence adhère à leur désir, en faisant, toutefois, ses réserves, "car," dit-elle, "j'étais simplement chargé de vous faire connaître mes réflexions mentionnées plus haut, et de conseiller à la Commission, pour les raisons ci-dessus énoncées, d'adopter de préférence les nouvelles lois promulguées par le Gouvernement Impérial."

*Lord Fitzmaurice* fait remarquer que le plan général du Projet est conforme aux dispositions du Règlement de l'Ile de Crète.

*Vahan Effendi* constate les différences suivantes, et fait les observations ci-après :

"Les attributions du Juge de Paix étant dévolues aux Conseils des Anciens et des nahiés, il me semble inutile et même dispendieux de nommer un Juge de Paix spécial et rétribué."

Il trouve trop élevé le traitement de 12,000 piastres alloué au Juge de Paix.

Le Trésor Impérial sera beaucoup trop grevé de cette allocation.

"D'après nos lois, les Conseils de nahié ne pouvant siéger sans appel que pour les contraventions emportant 30 piastres d'amende et quarante-huit heures d'arrêt et les actions civiles et autres jusqu'à concurrence de 150 piastres, on ne devrait pas élargir le cercle de leurs attributions ainsi fixées par les lois Ottomanes."



Son Excellence Vahan Effendi désirerait connaître la raison pour laquelle les Tribunaux des cazas ont été supprimés, car, d'après lui, vu les difficultés que présentent les distances, on doit maintenir ces Tribunaux qui faciliteraient les affaires des populations.

"Avez-vous pris, Messieurs," dit le Mustéchar, "en considération les difficultés de distances, surtout en hiver?"

*M. Aubaret* répond que c'est précisément pour parer aux inconvénients des distances que les Tribunaux des cazas ont été supprimés.

"C'est possible," dit *Vahan Effendi*, "l'intention peut être bonne, mais en tout cas elle n'est pas praticable.

"Je suis d'avis, au contraire, de maintenir les Tribunaux des cazas afin de ne pas obliger le plaignant à se rendre au liva.

*Lord Fitzmaurice* trouve inutile d'encourager les appels. C'est là le principe reconnu d'une bonne jurisprudence.

Comme principe, *Vahan Effendi* partage l'opinion de M. le Délégué de la Grande Bretagne, mais pour ce qui touche l'application, il s'en écarte en disant que le système proposé par la Commission ne pourrait être appliqué en Turquie. "Il est vrai," ajoute son Excellence, "que plus les juridictions sont nombreuses plus les contestations deviennent multiples. Si les Tribunaux actuels n'existaient pas, on pourrait confier à l'expérience le soin d'adopter une autre voie. Avez-vous une preuve à l'appui," demande le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat à l'honorable Lord, "pour supprimer les Tribunaux des cazas?"

*Le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne* dit que l'économie est une preuve suffisante.

*Vahan Effendi* trouve que la Commission n'a pas cherché à faire des économies du moment que 12,000 piastres ont été allouées à un simple Juge de Paix.

Au Tribunal du liva le Mustéchar ne voit pas la nécessité de mettre une clause distinctive entre les Musulmans et les Chrétiens.

D'après lui les Juges devraient être rétribués et nommés par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, au même titre que le Président.

Dans les émoluments des Présidents, il constate une différence annuelle de 12,000 piastres.

"Dans les Tribunaux des livas, il n'y a pas de Juges d'Instruction, tandis que nous," dit son Excellence, "dans nos lois, nous les avons conservés."

Il remarque une différence de 6,000 piastres par an dans les appointements des Procureurs.

Il désirerait que les Juges Assesseurs des vilayets fussent nommés par Iradé Impérial, sur la proposition du Ministère de la Justice.

"Il y a," observe Vahan Effendi, "une différence annuelle de 32,000 piastres sur le traitement du Président du Tribunal du vilayet."

Dans la compétence du Tribunal du liva, il existe, dit-il, une grande différence.

Les affaires criminelles n'entrent pas dans la sphère de leur compétence. Comme les jurys n'existent pas encore en Turquie, il faut trouver un autre mode de jugement pour les crimes; car c'est une question très-grave qui mérite une attention toute particulière. "Supposons," ajoute son Excellence, "qu'un crime se commette sur un point éloigné du chef-lieu du vilayet. Pour une foule de considérations, le Juge d'Instruction doit se rendre sur les lieux mêmes du crime. En effet, comment pourriez-vous faire venir au chef-lieu du vilayet les témoins et les objets qui ont servi à la perpétration du crime? Le Gouvernement Impérial a même trouvé insuffisant le pouvoir qu'il avait donné au Tribunal du liva, et il a l'intention de former des Assises."

Après avoir entendu les explications données par son Excellence Vahan Effendi et Parnis Effendi, *le Président* remercie, au nom de la Commission, ces messieurs des éclaircissements qu'ils ont bien voulu donner.

*M. Hitrovo* fait observer à la Commission que les explications fournies par son Excellence Vahan Effendi lui semblent constituer un nouvel et puissant argument en faveur de l'opinion émise par lui et développée dans la déclaration qu'il a eu l'honneur de lire au commencement de la séance, et d'après laquelle la Commission risque de décider la question judiciaire avant que celle-ci ait été suffisamment étudiée.

*Le Commissaire de Russie* conclut en demandant le renvoi de la discussion de ce Chapitre à une prochaine séance.

*Le Président* met aux voix la demande du Commissaire de Russie.

Les Commissaires d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, et d'Italie votent contre.

Le Commissaire de Russie vote pour.

Le Commissaire d'Allemagne s'abstient.

Les Commissaires Ottomans déclarent se rallier à la majorité.

*Le Commissaire de Russie* déclare que sa demande étant rejetée, il regrette de ne

pouvoir prendre part ni à la discussion ni au vote des Articles 1 à 27 et il se réserve de présenter par écrit son opinion à ce sujet.

Après un échange d'idées, la Commission adopte, avec quelques modifications qu'elle introduit, en tenant compte des observations présentées par Vahan Effendi et Parnis Effendi, au Règlement Judiciaire présenté par M. Aubaret et Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, les Articles 1 à 27 à la majorté de 5 voix, et à la majorité de 6 voix les Articles 27 à 57, dans la forme ci-après :

## Organisation des Tribunaux.

### *Règlement Judiciaire.*

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### *Tribunal du Nahié.*

1. Il y aura dans les nahiés un Tribunal de Justice de Paix.

2. Le Juge de Paix est nommé par le Vali. Sa rétribution est fixée à 12,000 piastres par an.

3. Le Tribunal du nahié jugera sans appel.

En matière correctionnelle :

(*a.*) Toutes les infractions que la loi qualifie de contravention et punit de peines de simple police.

En matière civile :

(*b.*) Sans appel : Toutes actions personnelles, civiles, et commerciales, jusqu'à concurrence de 500 piastres ; et, à charge d'appel, les mêmes actions jusqu'à concurrence de 1,000 piastres.

Le Jugé de Paix tiendra aussi son Tribunal en conciliation ; il pourra, si les parties en font la demande, nommer des arbitres pour des contestations dont l'objet dépasserait même 1,000 piastres ; mais, en cas de sentence arbitrale, les parties renonceront à tout appel.

### *Tribunal du Liva.*

4. Il y aura un Tribunal par liva.

5. Il sera composé d'un Président et de deux Assesseurs, dont l'un sera Musulman et l'autre non-Musulman.

6. Les fonctions de Président seront remplies par un Juge qui sera nommé directement par Iradé Impérial.

7. Les Assesseurs siégeant au Tribunal du liva seront électifs.

8. Les Assesseurs seront élus par le Conseil du liva parmi ceux qui offrent les conditions requises, par la présente loi, pour être membres du Conseil. Ils seront confirmés par le Vali.

9. Le Président du Tribunal recevra une rétribution de 36,000 piastres par an.

10. Chaque Assesseur du Tribunal du liva ainsi élu recevra, annuellement, une rétribution fixée à 8,000 piastres.

11. Il y aura un Procureur et des Juges d'Instruction attachés à chaque Tribunal de sandjak, nommés par Iradé Impérial.

12. Le Procureur recevra une rétribution de 24,000 piastres par an.

13. Les Juges d'Instruction recevront, chacun, une rétribution de 18,000 piastres par an.

### *Cour d'Appel du Vilayet.*

14. La Cour d'Appel du vilayet sera établie au chef-lieu du vilayet.

15. Le susdit Tribunal sera composé d'un Président, deux Conseillers, et de deux Assesseurs, dont l'un sera Musulman et l'autre non-Musulman.

16. Le Président et les Conseillers seront nommés par Iradé Impérial.

17. Les deux Assesseurs seront élus pour une période d'un an par le Conseil Général, parmi ceux qui offrent les conditions requises par la présente loi pour être membres du dit Conseil. Ils seront élus par le Conseil Général pour une période d'un an. Ils seront confirmés par le Ministre de la Justice.

18. Les Assesseurs du susdit Tribunal recevront une rétribution annuelle de 10,000 piastres.

19. Le Président recevra annuellement une rétribution de 72,000 et chaque Conseiller 18,000 piastres par an.

20. Il y aura un Procureur-Général et des Juges d'Instruction attachés au susdit Tribunal et nommés par Iradé Impérial.



21. Le Procureur-Général recevra une rétribution de 40,000 piastres par an.

22. Les Juges d'Instruction recevront, chacun, une rétribution de 24,000 piastres par an.

### *De la Compétence du Tribunal du Liva.*

23. Le Tribunal du liva connaîtra au civil ;

En dernier ressort :

(*a.*) Les appels de Justice de Paix ;

(*b.*) De toutes actions personnelles, civiles et commerciales jusqu'à la valeur de 5,000 piastres ou de 500 piastres de rente ;

A chargé d'appel :

Toute action civile, personnelle, commerciale ou réelle, quel qu'en soit le montant en litige.

24. Les Tribunaux de liva connaîtront ;

Au pénal :

Des infractions auxquelles la loi donne la qualification de crimes et qu'elle punit de peines afflictives et infamantes ; et à charge d'appel ; les infractions que la loi qualifie de délits et punit de peines correctionnelles. Ils sont, en outre, chargés de l'instruction des crimes.

### *De la Compétence de la Cour d'Appel du Vilayet.*

25. La Cour d'Appel connaîtra ;

Au civil ;

Les appels des Tribunaux de liva, dans les cas où l'appel en est recevable ;

Au pénal ;

Les appels des Jugements rendus par les Tribunaux de liva en matière de délits ;

26. Il y aura pourvoi en cassation à Constantinople contre les décisions de cette Cour.

27. Dans le cas où l'insuffisance du Tribunal des livas aura été constatée ou que sa distance du chef-lieu des cazas viendrait à offrir des difficultés et une grande perte de temps aux intéressés domiciliés dans les nahiés, un ou plusieurs autres Tribunaux de liva pourront être, selon les nécessités locales, établis dans les chefs-lieux de cazas.

28. Les privilèges et immunités acquis aux étrangers, en vertu des Traités, Conventions, arrangements internationaux et par l'usage, seront respectés comme par le passé.

29. Personne ne pourra être nommé Procureur-Général, ou Président, ou Conseiller de la Cour d'Appel, s'il n'a pas reçu un diplôme d'étude légale d'une Université ou École de Droit, ou s'il n'a pas rempli les fonctions de Juge pendant au moins cinq ans dans un Tribunal à Constantinople.

30. Les séances des Tribunaux sont publiques, à moins que, par égard pour les bonnes mœurs, le huis-clos ne soit jugé nécessaire. Les Jugements sont prononcés et les sentences rendues en séance publique. Dans tous les cas où l'honneur et le crédit du plaignant l'exigent absolument, les Tribunaux peuvent ordonner la publication d'un extrait du Jugement dans la principale feuille du vilayet, aux frais de la partie condamnée.

31. Tous les procès civils, criminels et commerciaux entre Chrétiens et Musulmans et toute autre contestation mixte seront jugés par les Tribunaux établis par la présente loi.

32. Les témoignages des Musulmans et des non-Musulmans sont admis à titre d'égalité absolue devant tous les Tribunaux.

33. Les Tribunaux sont indépendants et leurs Jugements libres et publics, et il n'y aura aucune ingérence de la part des autorités administratives dans les affaires judiciaires.

34. L'exécution des Jugements est confiée aux Présidents des Tribunaux.

35. Les procès entre le Gouvernement et les particuliers seront jugés par les Tribunaux ordinaires.

36. Les Présidents des Tribunaux et les Conseillers à la Cour d'Appel sont inamovibles.

37. Le pouvoir judiciaire a été séparé du pouvoir administratif ; par conséquent, les Tribunaux nizamiés recevront directement les requêtes ; l'exécution des sentences civiles qui est réglée par la loi, leur appartient, et celle des sentences correctionnelles est dévolue aux Procureurs-Généraux. Les fonctionnaires administratifs et la gendarmerie sont tenus de leur prêter l'assistance nécessaire pour la mise à exécution des sentences.

38. Toute la peine ne peut être appliquée qu'en vertu du Jugement d'un Tribunal compétent d'après la loi.

39. Plusieurs nahiés peuvent être réunis par le Directeur de la Justice, selon les besoins de la population, pour en faire un seul district de Justice de Paix.

40. Tous les Assesseurs seront rééligibles.

*De la mise en Etat d'Arrestation et des Prisons.*

41. Les Présidents, Conseillers à la Cour d'Appel et Juges de Paix, sont les seuls magistrats du vilayet.

42. Nul ne peut être arrêté et appréhendé au corps qu'en vertu d'un mandat signé d'un magistrat, et revêtu de son sceau, désignant avec précision la personne de l'inculpé et le fait pour lequel il est inculpé.

43. En cas de flagrant délit, tout gendarme, officier de paix, la partie lésée, et généralement toute personne a le droit et le devoir d'arrêter le délinquant; mais dans ce cas, l'arrestation doit être immédiatement régularisée par un mandat d'arrêt, décerné dans les formes légales par un magistrat dans les vingt-quatre heures.

44. Toute personne mise en état d'arrestation doit être, dans le plus bref délai, conduite devant le Tribunal de nahié, qui la juge si la matière est de son ressort, et autrement l'ayant interrogée la renvoie devant le Tribunal duquel elle relève pour être jugée. En attendant, il ordonne sa mise en liberté ou son maintien en état d'arrestation préventive jusqu'au Jugement.

45. L'inculpé peut toujours réclamer sa mise en liberté sous caution jusqu'au Jugement, en prenant l'engagement de se représenter pour l'instruction et le Jugement.

46. Si le prévenu n'est pas admis à fournir une caution, ou si, étant admis, il ne peut la fournir, il n'est maintenu en état d'arrestation préventive, pendant la durée de l'instruction, qu'en vertu d'un mandat de dépôt, revêtu de la signature du Juge du Tribunal du nahié, et désignant avec précision la personne du prévenu et la nature de la prévention.

Les prévenus en justice, non admis à fournir caution, ne peuvent être maintenus en état de détention préventive au delà d'un mois.

Toutefois, si la poursuite a lieu pour infractions auxquelles la loi donne la qualification de crimes et qu'elle punit de peines afflictives et infamantes, la mise en liberté sous caution ne sera pas accordée.

47. Tout personne détenue en dehors des cas prévus par la loi ou sans l'accomplissement des formalités légales doit, sur la plainte formée auprès du Tribunal du liva, être immédiatement mise en liberté, sans préjudice des pénalités et réparation civile, encourues par quiconque aura ordonné, exécuté ou fait exécuter l'arrestation illégale.

48. Le domicile du citoyen est inviolable. Nul ne peut y pénétrer sans son consentement, sauf s'il s'agit de l'exécution d'un mandat d'arrestation en bonne forme, ou de l'exécution d'un Jugement en matière civile décrété par le Président du Tribunal compétent.

49. Les visites domiciliaires, dans le cas où elles seraient jugées nécessaires pour l'instruction d'un procès criminel, ne peuvent avoir lieu qu'en vertu d'un mandat de perquisition délivré par un magistrat.

50. Il y aura une prison d'Etat dans chacun des chefs-lieux de sandjak et pas ailleurs.

51. Le Chef de Bataillon de gendarmerie est le Directeur responsable de la prison sous la surveillance du Directeur de la Justice.

52. Les Mudirs des nahiés de chaque sandjak auront le droit d'inspecter la prison aux heures convenables et de constater que personne n'y est détenu arbitrairement et contre la loi.

53. Les prévenus en justice ne peuvent être emprisonnés dans la même partie de la prison que les condamnés.

54. Le Chef de Bataillon de gendarmerie est chargé de l'exécution des sentences prononcées par les Tribunaux de nahié, liva, et par la Cour d'Appel en matière pénale.

55. Aucune sentence, à peine capitale, ne sera exécutée avant de recevoir la sanction de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

56. Il sera loisible au Conseil Général du vilayet, sur la proposition du Vali et avec la sanction de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, d'augmenter les sommmes ci-dessus comme rétribution des Juges de Paix, Juges d'Instruction, Conseillers, Procureurs, et Président.



57. Les frais de la justice seront inclus dans les frais de l'Administration Locale dont il est parlé au Compte A de l'Article 82.

Les Commissaires Ottomans se réservent sur l'ensemble du Projet de Règlement Judiciaire, parce que:—

1. Les Juges de Paix leur paraissent dispendieusement rétribués, les Conseils des Anciens et des Nahiés pouvant remplir les fonctions de Juges de Paix sans aucune rétribution;

2. Les attributions déférées au Tribunal du nahié dépassent les limites légales dans lesquelles elles devraient être renfermées;

3. Ils ne voient pas la nécessité de la distinction introduite dans le Projet entre Musulmans et non-Musulmans.

4. Ils n'admettent qu'à titre provisoire et pour un délai déterminé le caractère électif des Assesseurs à l'expiration duquel délai les Juges Assesseurs au Tribunal du Liva seraient nommés par Iradé Impérial et rétribués par le Gouvernement.

5. Les rétributions qui sont fixées dans le Projet sont trop considérables.

*Le Chevalier Vernoni* présente à la Commission le nouvel Article ci-après qu'il désire voir inclus dans le Chapitre du Règlement Judiciaire:—

"Art. . Les privilèges et immunités acquis aux étrangers en vertu des Traités, Conventions, Arrangements internationaux et par l'usage seront respectés comme par le passé."

Six Commissaires acceptent cet Article additionnel.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* s'abstiennent parce qu'ils trouvent cet Article tout-à-fait superflu, les immunités dont il est question n'étant pas de nature à devenir l'objet d'un Article de la Loi des Vilayets.

*Le Président*, avec l'assentiment de la Commission, fixe la prochaine séance au Lundi, 9 Août.

La séance est levée à 5 heures.

(Signé) ASSIM.
ABRO.
v. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.
HITROVO.

Certifié conforme à l'original:
(Signé) SÉON.
C. CARTWRIGHT.
GRITZENKO.
M. RÉCHID.

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Annexe au Compte-rendu No. 12.

*Déclaration lue par M. Hitrovo.*

J'ai applaudi à la proposition qui nous a été faite par MM. les Commissaires Ottomans, de recevoir à notre séance d'aujourd'hui un Délégué Spécial de la Sublime Porte en la personne de M. le Mustéchar du Ministère de la Justice, afin que son Excellence Vahan Effendi puisse donner à la Commission les éclaircissements nécessaires, au sujet du Projet d'organisation de la Justice dans les provinces dont nous nous occupons actuellement.

En adhérant avec empressement à cette proposition, je tiens à constater l'importance que j'y attache, ainsi que ma manière de voir sur la façon de procéder que la Commission devrait admettre, à mon avis, en abordant une question d'aussi haute importance.

Le Projet de Loi qui nous a été soumis par la Sublime Porte ne contient pas de Titre spécial sur l'organisation de la Justice. Il s'en réfère sur cette matière aux Codes de Lois Ottomans nouvellement élaborés qui ont été examinés par une Commission *ad hoc* instituée en vertu d'un accord entre la Sublime Porte et les Représentants des Puissances. Le travail très-laborieux et très-volumineux de la dite Commission *ad hoc*, fait en Turc, n'ayant pas été traduit en Français, ne saurait être réexaminé par la Commission Européenne. D'un autre côté, la Commission Européenne ne saurait admettre, dans le Projet qu'elle examine, des renvois à une loi qu'elle ne connaît pas. En conséquence les Commissaires ont été unanimes à reconnaître que l'absence, dans le Projet, de ce Titre

spécial sur l'organisation de la Justice, constituait une lacune regrettable qui devrait être comblée par l'élaboration de ce Titre spécial. Il ne s'agissait donc plus de proposer des amendements sur les Articles d'organisation administrative, préalablement élaborés; il s'agissait de légiférer sur l'élaboration de tout un système d'organisation judiciaire.

Deux Projets nous ont été successivement présentés sur l'organisation de la Justice: celui de M. le Délégué de France et celui de M. le Délégué de la Grande Bretagne. Plus tard, M. Aubaret et Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice se sont concertés et ont fondu leurs deux Projets en un seul, qui fera l'objet de nos prochaines discussions.

Je profite de cette occasion pour rendre hommage aux consciencieux travaux de nos honorable collègues de France et de la Grande Bretagne. Ils ont rendu un service éminent à la Commission, en déblayant le terrain et en préparant les voies à la discussion, sur un sujet de la plus haute importance.

Pour ma part, dans chacun de ces Projets j'ai trouvé d'excellents principes qui méritent toute l'attention de la Commission. Néanmoins, je ne saurais me prononcer sur aucun de ces Projets dans son ensemble et dans ses détails, avant d'avoir été suffisamment éclairé sur la matière. C'est à ce point de vue que j'applaudis à la proposition de la Sublime Porte de nous communiquer, sur le sujet qui nous intéresse, son propre point de vue ainsi que des informations sur les Codes Ottomans, par l'organe de son Excellence Vahan Effendi.

Nous ne sommes certainement pas une réunion de spécialistes en matière de jurisprudence. Nul ne peut prétendre que, dans l'espace de quelques jours, nous ayons bâti un édifice de législation complet et idéal. Mais ce qu'on est en droit d'exiger de nous c'est que nous n'entamions la discussion officielle sur un sujet aussi complexe et aussi spécial, qu'après avoir épuisé les sources d'informations et de lumières qui sont à notre portée.

Il est vrai que nous n'avons pas à entrer dans des détails de procédure. Nous devons nous borner à l'élaboration d'un Projet de pure organisation mécanique de la justice dans les provinces. Néanmoins, ce Projet avant d'être accepté devrait être mûrement raisonné à trois points de vue différents:

1. Au point de vue de la science du droit, en général;

2. A celui de son application à des pays et à des populations avec un caractère, des mœurs, et des coutumes déterminés;

3. A celui de sa concordance avec les Codes de Lois Ottomans.

En conséquence, j'ai l'honneur de proposer que la Commission veuille bien décider, qu'après avoir entendu les explications de son Excellence Vahan Effendi, elle s'accordera, avant d'entrer en discussion définitive du Projet d'organisation judiciaire, un temps suffisant pour que chacun des Délégués puisse, s'il le juge nécessaire, présenter par écrit ses observations sur la matière, basée tant sur l'examen des Articles du Projet que sur les explications entendues. Je le crois d'autant plus nécessaire que la discussion peut être soulevée, non pas seulement sur des Articles détachés du Projet, sur des questions de détail et de rédaction, mais aussi sur tout l'ensemble du Projet d'organisation judiciaire et sur le principe qui lui a servi de base.

Pour ma part, je me déclare loin d'être suffisamment préparé et éclairé, pour pouvoir aborder la discussion dès aujourd'hui. Je ne pourrai me former une opinion qu'après avoir entendu les explications et les commentaires de M. le Mustéchar du Ministère de la Justice, et les réponses que, j'espère, son Excellence Vahan Effendi voudra bien me donner sur certaines questions que j'aurai l'honneur de lui adresser. Je déclare donc que je ne saurais accepter la discussion sur un sujet aussi complexe et aussi spécial, que dans les conditions que je viens d'indiquer.

Je le sais bien, on pourrait m'objecter qu'une telle façon de procéder apportera nécessairement quelques lenteurs à la marche des travaux de la Commission. Mais il me semble que la Commission n'est nullement liée sous ce rapport. Il me semble que les Délégués revêtus de la confiance de leurs Gouvernements, sont parfaitement autorisés à réclamer le temps nécessaire pour pouvoir s'éclairer suffisamment avant de prendre une décision sur une question extrêmement grave, et qui exige une étude sérieuse et approfondie. Il me semble enfin que le sujet que nous abordons mérite bien qu'on y réfléchisse sérieusement, et qu'il vaut mieux lui consacrer un peu plus de temps, que de prendre quelque décision trop hâtive qui pourrait prêter à la critique.

Je demande que ma présente déclaration soit annexée au compte-rendu de la séance d'aujourd'hui.

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No. 114.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 325. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Philippopoli, August 27, 1880.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 80 of the 2nd, and to my despatch No. 321 of the 13th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith a translation of the contract entered into by General Strecker with the thirty-eight Russian sergeants who are to take service in the East Roumelian militia.

The contract, as your Lordship will observe, is for one year only. It states that these non-commissioned officers are to conform to the military laws in force and to observe the rules of discipline. They are to receive £ T. 2 a-month besides rations. In the event of their misconduct, the Eastern Roumelian Government reserves the right of discharging them, being bound, however, to defray their travelling expenses as far as Bourgas.

Such are the general terms of the contract. As regards the negotiations, it appears that, in the absence of the Governor-General, an arrangement was come to between the Commandant of the militia and Captain Eck, Russian Military Attaché, as to the employment of a further number of Russian sergeants, and that a proposal to this effect was submitted to the Permanent Committee for approval. No mention, however, was made of the matter to the Secretary-General, who at the time was performing the duties of Governor-General. It was only, it seems, on an inquiry from me on the subject, as reported in my above-mentioned despatch, that M. Crestovitch became aware of the negotiations which had been going on; and strange to say, even then, although this private agreement obviously encroached on his prerogative as Acting Governor-General, he appears neither to have taken active steps to correct this irregularity, nor to have acquainted Aleko Pasha of what had taken place. The first intimation which the Governor-General received of the contract was from his Private Secretary. But in the absence of any notification from M. Crestovitch, his Excellency appears to have received the news with doubt, and to have taken no measures to ascertain the truth. Meanwhile, Captain Eck had written officially to Russia to engage the said non-commissioned officers, so that the Governor-General on his return found himself confronted, so to speak, with a *fait accompli*.

The indignation of his Excellency was very great. He at once called a Council, at which he expressed an intention of annulling the contract. In reply, General Strecker pleaded the exigencies of the service as an excuse for his conduct, adding that, if the contract was cancelled and the militia suffered, he washed his hands of all responsibility. Later on in the day Aleko Pasha expressed to Captain Eck his surprise that an officer acquainted with, and accustomed like he was, to the rules of discipline, should have encouraged General Strecker in a measure, unknown to the Governor-General, and which Captain Eck must have been aware had not yet received his consent. In reply, Captain Eck stated that all that he had done was to transmit to his Government a request which had been made to him officially by General Strecker.

The Governor-General has since agreed to sanction the contract.

As the military measures which are now being adopted are of considerable importance, and calculated, it appears, to greatly affect the political and domestic condition of the province, I will venture to draw your Lordship's attention to the two "Ordonnances" of the Governor-General dated the 30th and 31st October last, and to the Circular issued by General Strecker on the 29th May, as forming, it would seem, the basis of the Commandant's organization scheme. As your Lordship is aware, the principal object of the two above-mentioned Decrees was the dissolution of the Gymnastic Societies. The former Decree, it is true, enrolled the gymnasts in the second ban and the reserve of the militia, and the latter prescribed weekly drill, but if the real intention of the authorities was to do away with an evil which was embarrassing to the province, the other provisions might easily have been disregarded, seeing that the peasants had already shown evident signs of their disinclination to continue their drill. Unfortunately, just as there were indications that the peasantry were getting tired of political agitation, and were settling down steadily to work, General Strecker issues an order enjoining the immediate recommencement of the drilling in the communes, and sets about organizing a scheme for raising the militia to its full strength at the end of its first year of existence, contrary to the spirit of Article 39 of the Organic Statute, which evidently contemplates the gradual formation of the three bans during a period of twelve years. In these circumstances, the demand for non-commissioned officers is easily understood. Had General Strecker con-

fined himself to properly organizing the first two classes of the first ban, and not given force to the Governor-General's "Ordonnance" of the 31st October, there would have a more than sufficient supply of native non-commissioned officers, and very likely the agitators, finding it no longer so easy to persuade the peasants to renew drilling, would have in the course of time left them alone. As it is, more than a hundred native non-commissioned officers, whose period of service ended this summer, were refused readmission into the active army at a moment when General Streeker was negotiating with Captain Eck for the services of 111 Russians. Of this latter number, twelve arrived at Philippopoli two days ago; twenty-six more are shortly expected at Bourgas, twenty-five are preparing to start from Odessa, and the remainder are now being selected in Russia.

This sudden organization of the entire force of the militia is the more astonishing when the financial condition of the country is taken into account, many officers and soldiers, I am told, having not yet received their pay for the month of July. Moreover, the secrecy involving this affair would imply some hidden object.

In support of this view, I will venture to repeat to your Lordship some significant remarks made to me not long ago by a gentleman occupying a position of special trust in the Chancery of the Governor-General. He informed me that during last winter General Streeker had called at his house, and urged the necessity of the removal of Colonel Toustain from the post of Chief of the Staff, on account of the difficulties that officer had to encounter from his want of knowledge of the Bulgarian language. Shortly afterwards he received a visit from M. Isvolski, at that time Acting Russian Consul-General, who laid stress on the importance, in the interests of the province, of replacing Colonel Toustain by a Russian officer of superior rank, adding, confidentially, at a subsequent interview, that it was the desire of the Russian Government that the civil appointments in the province should be held by Frenchmen and Germans, but that the military posts should be occupied by Russians. There can be little doubt that similar representations were made with regard to Colonel Borthwick, as my informant told me that, on reporting the conversation to the Governor-General, his Excellency had declared that nothing would induce him to take any steps for the removal of Colonel Toustain and Colonel Barthwick, both of whom, he said, performed their duties well.

If it is really the intention of the Russian Government to gradually get entire control over the provincial militia, peculiar facilities for this result are offered by a system which has been introduced. It appears that, by a special order, all commands are transmitted to the officer or non-commissioned officer immediately inferior in rank, so that Majors and Colonels (who are nominated by the Sultan) can have no direct command over the men. As yet no Majors have been appointed, almost all the battalions being commanded by Russian Captains; but an instance of the pernicious effect of this system was lately shown in the case of an Austrian officer in the militia, who was told one day on parade, by a Russian sergeant, that his company intended not to obey him any more; and on the officer calling the troops to attention no notice was taken. The sergeant has not been punished, and the officer is at present unemployed.

I have been even told that, during Aleko Pasha's tour last autumn in the province, a Russian Captain of gendarmerie refused to furnish the Governor-General with an escort without a direct order from General Streeker or Colonel Borthwick.

Should the 111 Russian officers actually take service in the militia, Russian influence over that force will be almost complete.

Notwithstanding that a considerable number of Russian medals have lately been distributed among the Bulgarian sergeants by Captain Eck, much discontent reigns among them; and I am told that the native officers are very indignant.

I will forward to your Lordship by next messenger an account of the manner in which the cadre of the three bans of the militia is being formed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 114.

*Contract.*

(Translation.)

I, THE Undersigned,
undertake to serve in the East Roumelian Militia, under the following conditions:—

1. During the period of my service I am bound to conform to the military laws in force in the country, and to subject myself to all rules of discipline consistent with my rank.



2. I will submit to be tried by an East Roumelian Military Court for military offences, and by an East Roumelian Civil Court for civil offences.

3. In the event of repeated gross misconduct on my part, from which the service may be said, more or less, to suffer, the East Roumelian Government have the right to dismiss me, and send me to Russia. If I am tried by a Court, and found guilty of a military or civil offence, the East Roumelian Government have likewise the right to dismiss me.

4. The East Roumelian Government enrols in the Roumelian service
as with the rank of in virtue of this contract, approved by the Permanent Committee, at 2 liras Turkish a-month, in addition to rations and clothing.

5. In case of my being wounded in the performance of my duties, the East Roumelian Government undertakes to afford me medical treatment in accordance with the Provincial Law about to be elaborated.

6. In the event of my dismissal from the service, no matter the cause, the East Roumelian Government are bound to defray my travelling expenses as far as Bourgas.

7. In the event of my falling ill, the East Roumelian Government are bound to send me to a hospital, and only to deduct from my rations and pay that deducted from the rations and pay of those of the same rank as myself.

8. In the event of my marriage, I have no right to claim support for my family, save in so far as is laid down in Article 5.

The present contract will have force for one year, namely, from June , 18 , to June .

*Philippopoli,*

Approved by the Permanent Committee.
, *President.*

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No. 115.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 328.)
*Philippopoli, August* 28, 1880.

My Lord,

I AM informed on reliable authority that an attempt is being made by the Russian Synod to effect a reconciliation between the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian Exarch, with a view to an accord in the action of the Greek and Bulgarian Churches in the affairs of Macedonia. The Greek Patriarch, I am told, is disposed to agree, the Synod having proposed to confer on him the title of Primate of the Orthodox Eastern Church. My informant, however, tells me that the Exarch is much opposed to this plan, as affecting the independence of the Bulgarian Church.

The Greek Consul here has several times hinted to me that, should a conflict break out between Turkey and Greece, the Greeks of Eastern Roumelia would receive instructions from their priests to side with the Bulgarians in a movement for a union, with a view of holding in check a portion of the Turkish army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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No. 116.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 329.)
*Philippopoli, August* 28, 1880.

My Lord,

IN my telegram No. 83 of the 25th instant, I had the honour to report to your Lordship that a Society has been formed in this town in aid of the Bulgarians of Macedonia similar to that suppressed at Constantinople in 1877 by order of the Sultan.

I inclose herewith, in translation, the text of a Circular invitation to a meeting which was held last Monday in the Bulgarian school. With reference to this, your Lordship will observe that it is signed by M. Gueshoff, the President of the Assembly; Pop Tieleff, Vice-President of the Permanent Committee; and Constantine Velitchkoff, a Deputy.

I am informed by a Bulgarian who was present that the meeting was largely attended. Proceedings were opened by addresses from M. Gueshoff and M. Velitchkoff, who reminded the meeting of the sympathy which they owed to their unfortunate brethren in Macedonia, adding that the Agent of the Society about to be founded was to afford them assistance in their struggle with their enemies.

"It is time," said M. Velitchkoff, "to replace words by acts; every aid given to the Bulgarians of Macedonia will speed the task so dear to our hearts, namely, Bulgarian unity and independence."

A working Committee was then elected, consisting of Pop Tieleff, and MM. K. Velitchkoff, G. Groueff, Iran E. Gueshoff, and Iran S. Gueshoff, who were requested to draw up a list of rules. A further meeting is to be held next Monday, the $\frac{16}{28}$th instant.

From what I have since learnt, it appears that Sub-Committees are to be formed in the principal towns of Macedonia, and that agencies are to be established throughout this province with a view to the collection of funds from the townspeople and the peasants.

I likewise learn that a monthly offering of 1 to 2 roubles will be exacted from those who may be persuaded to enrol themselves as members of the Society. I am also told that subscriptions to the amount of 600*l.* have already been promised.

I availed myself of a visit I had yesterday from M. Tongoroff, whose name is known to your Lordship, to earnestly impress upon that gentleman that it behoved him, as a Christian pastor, to employ every means in his power to dissuade his brethren in Macedonia from listening to insidious counsels which would only involve them in misery and bloodshed.

M. Tongoroff replied that he had heard nothing as yet of this Society, but that he presumed its object must be the spread of useful knowledge among a people who were sorely in need of it. I told him that I would be very glad to learn that such was the intention. He would, however, do well, in case he was mistaken, to lose no time in letting it be generally known among the Bulgarian population of Macedonia that civil rights were shortly to be accorded by the Porte to the Christian races in that vilayet, and to urge upon the people to remain perfectly quiet.

M. Tongoroff promised me faithfully to at once do all in his power to follow my advice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 116.

*Circular.*

(Translation.)
Sir, *Philippopoli, August* $\frac{11}{23}$, 1880.

A MEETING will be held this evening at 8 o'clock (European time) to discuss the part we should take in the efforts which are being made with a view to the improvement of the condition and the moral development of our brothers in Macedonia. You are earnestly requested to be present at this meeting, which will be held at the Bulgarian (Real) school at Philippopoli.

(Signed) ECONOUE POP TIELEFF.
IRAN GUESHOFF.
K. VELITCHKOFF.

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No. 117.

*Mr. Gould to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 70. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, August* 28, 1880.

IN the course of conversation M. Ristich has informed me in confidence that he is in possession of Reports from his agents in Macedonia that the preparations for a Bulgarian rising in that province are already completed, though the majority of the population, which is composed of Servians, Greeks, and Mussulmans, is opposed to it; that all classes of Bulgarians in the Balkan Peninsula from Prince Alexander downwards, are actively



conniving at this rising, and that he considers the demonstrations of friendship for Servia, which were held on the occasion of Prince Milan's birthday, the 22nd instant, were anything but sincere, being simply got up for the purpose of misleading public opinion in this Principality, and securing its support in a movement fraught with the gravest danger to its true interests.

His Excellency seems to consider that the Port of Salonica is the only natural outlet for Servian commerce, as he concluded by saying that the question of the possession of Salonica was one of the most serious importance, not to Servia alone, but also to the great commercial Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. F. GOULD.

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No. 118.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 296.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August* 30, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Rustchuk, reporting on the military preparations at Shumla and the Prince of Bulgaria's visit to Varna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 118.

*Vice-Consul Dalziel to Mr. Lascelles.*

Sir, *Rustchuk, August* 19, 1880.

HAVING heard various rumours of military preparations at Shumla, also that the Prince of Bulgaria was going there, I thought it advisable to organize a shooting expedition in that neighbourhood; accordingly, accompanied by M. Pirroni, the Italian Vice-Consul, I went there on the 14th instant, returning on the 17th.

Respecting the fortifications: in a Report to Her Majesty's Ambassador of the 30 August, 1879, copy of which was sent to Mr. Consul-General Palgrave, I gave a detailed statement of their then position, and also stated I was informed by the Governor that orders had been received by the Municipality to continue the work of demolition which had been left by the contractor, but that he thought it would require about ten years to finish it. Since that time one year has elapsed, and exactly nothing has been done.

We found that there were four batteries (thirty-two guns) of field artillery, the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th going through their exercise, and that two other batteries were expected to arrive, after which His Highness would come to pass them in review.

Those troops live in the casernes in the town, which have been repaired, and go through their exercise in the undulating country between the town and Bash Topé Tabia, which, being "merra," is unincumbered with crops, and admirably adapted for extensive military manœuvres.

Other soldiers are busy cutting and making hay on the large Government farm situated to the west of Bash Topé, and the cavalry is held in the country about Eski Djuma; in addition, there are several drouzinas of infantry in the immediate neighbourhood, as, for example, at Eski Stamboul, at the mouth of a pass leading to Kazan and Slimnia, or to Jamboli direct.

It may be as well to mention here that I have received information from a Jew contractor just arrived from Odessa, that a division of cavalry is now there under orders for Bulgaria; this may be exaggerated or even untrue, and I mention it under all due reserve, but if we consider the particularly favourable season, and that there is an unusually good crop of grass and all sorts of fodder, it may not be improbable that some operations are contemplated this winter; in which case I apprehend that Shumla would become the central depôt, and this more especially if there is any likelihood of Russian and Austrian troops coming into collision, and then we shall see the utility of leaving the fortifications intact and repairing the barracks.

That Russia has all along contemplated some operation from Shumla with Varna as a base is made more evident if one considers the at present abandoned scheme of Colonel

Göethe to make a railway from near Pravady into Shumla town by the Kadikoi River, necessitating a tunnel, and in every way a far more expensive affair than that proposed and partially executed by the Turks from Kaspitchan, but possibly, in a military point of view, better, as avoiding the Pravady Valley.

Respecting the volunteers, of which I have several times spoken, I was only able to corroborate, which I did most amply, the arrival of that band from Tirnovo mentioned in my despatch of the 9th July. Since that time, they seem to have been absorbed into outlying villages, or disposed of in some way which keeps them out of sight, for nothing seems to be known of them at Shumla by any of those persons whom I asked concerning them.

The new Prefect of Shumla is a Russian officer, and Eski Stamboul having been made the centre of a district with a Sub-Prefect has also been furnished with a Russian one and a Russian Secretary. This young man, notwithstanding that we were accompanied by a gendarme from Shumla, took it upon him to ask if we had any permission to visit such places, and seemed surprised to be told that we had not, and did not require it.

I mention this as an instance of Russian jealousy, for to do the Bulgarians themselves justice, we were invariably well received by them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. DALZIEL.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 118.

*Vice-Consul Dalziel to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Rustchuk, August* 20, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Prince of Bulgaria arrived here on Monday morning, the 16th, about 10 o'clock, and left at noon for Varna.

A special train was placed at his disposal gratis by the working Company, which they have no right to do, as a certain proportion of all the receipts ought to go to the English Company, who own the railway.

The Prefect sent a Circular to me, and I believe to all my colleagues, intimating the expected arrival of the Prince, but containing no invitation; being absent I did not receive it until the following day. I am told that the Russian Consul was at the station in full uniform, but His Highness did not speak to him; the French Consul was also there in full dress (he has no uniform) but His Highness did not take any notice of him: no other colleague was present.

A deputation of Bulgarian workmen presented a petition to the Prince, requesting that all the superior Russian officers now here should be dismissed, and naming the Commandant of the Fleet as the first to be got rid of. They also intimated to His Highness that they would attend his coming again for a favourable reply.

M. Stoiloff was not with the Prince; he followed on Wednesday, the 18th. I am told he is in disgrace.

All the Prince's luggage, including carriages, was labelled Prince de Battenberg.

At some of the stations between Rustchuk and Varna, as at Shrytandjick and Schumla road, deputations of Turks presented petitions concerning the conscription.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. DALZIEL.

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No. 119.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 7.)

(No. 301.) *Therapia, August* 30, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the translation of a letter published in the Greek newspaper "Thraké," from its special correspondent at Vitolia, respecting the proceedings of the Albanian League.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 119.

*Special Correspondence from Vitolia, published in the "Thraké" of August* 21, 1880.

(Translation.)

IN my last letter to you I spoke of the action taken by the Albanian League at Koroutza, and of the various ways in which the Christians have been oppressed by the deputies of the League, who not only insist upon their signing the Organic Statute which the chief of the League sent to them, but also upon their paying the contribution levied on them, and engaging to pay the expenses of the war which is likely to ensue. The unhappy Christians who, I state most positively, have no redress whatever here, have been intimidated into submission to these demands, and much against their will have signed and promised all that the Albanians wanted.

Somewhat similar action has been and is being taken at Castoria and other places. The Christians protest in vain against these lawless proceedings of a few Albanian emissaries. They have frequently represented to those who are in power here the impossibility of proceeding in a way not sanctioned by the Imperial Government, but without effect. The answer given to them is, that it is a national question.

If, they say, we are Albanians, we must maintain the integrity of the country at all costs, and this is in no way incompatible with the interests of the Empire.

Even after these injunctions the Christians refused to acquiesce, but they were threatend with such violence that finally they were unable to avoid sending representatives to Villista.

According to information that I have received in a letter from an official at Koroutza, the whole population of that town is swayed by some Dervish Chiefs, of the greatest fanaticism, who enjoy perfect liberty of action, and hold in their hands all the legislative and executive power. No other power or authority exists, according to the reliable information contained in this letter.

At the village of Viehlista the Christians have been successful in their opposition to the article on enlistment of the Albanian Statute, which they are introducing into the different villages; they have only been compelled to make pecuniary contribution. At the same village the Christians were called upon some days afterwards to sign a document giving full powers, and delivered to the Albanians at Phrasari, who were sent as Commissioners from our town; but they succeeded in avoiding the signature of this also.

At Phrasari, according to positive information received from an Albanian friend, the Legislative Council paid no attention whatever to this document, but proceeded to frame the following law:—

"Every son of our country is bound to serve the country as a soldier; and if some few Christians object that they are not used to carrying arms, they may send a substitute."

From this article it is understood that very few Christians will escape military service.

Another article says:—

"For the posts of clerk, cashier, and other civil offices, the Christians are bound to serve their country in person, and no substitute will be accepted."

Another article says:—

"If any one capable of serving refuse to do so, his house is delivered to the flames, his property is confiscated, and he, together with his family, is exiled."

Another article says:—

"If any Albanian is convicted of hostility to Albanian interests, he is to be hanged."

As you see, the laws are Draconic, and, if the Christians refuse compliance, they will certainly draw down their fury on their heads, a fury which will be manifested in various ways.

Our Archbishop goes almost daily to the Governor's, and certainly gives information of what is going on, if it is not known already, and makes the desired representations for the taking of the necessary measures, but, to judge by his frequent visits, without any success whatever.

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*Extract from a Letter from Koroutza to the "Thraké" of the same date.*

Referring to the Albanian Statutes mentioned in the preceding letter, the correspondent says:—

"According to the Statute in question, the inhabitants of the provinces included in the League are subject:—

"1. To an extraordinary monetary contribution, according to the annexed rating (according to this rating the inhabitants of the Province of Castoria have to pay as a first instalment £T. 2,500).

"2. To enlistment, whereby each family having two adult male members is bound to supply one of them to the forces of the League.

"3. To a regular contribution for the maintenance of the men enlisted from the different districts, each district being bound to supply clothing and food for its own men. Arms only are supplied by the head-quarters of the League."

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No. 120.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 303.) *Therapia, August 30, 1880.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith three petitions from the Greek Orthodox Christians in Macedonia, which the Œcumenical Patriarch has forwarded to me.

The first petition is from the Orthodox Christians in the districts of Salonica, Kilemeria, Catterina, &c., and complains of the Pan-Slavonic and Roumanian intrigues which are busy in those quarters. The petitioners appear to be principally occupied with the danger of the Bulgarian intrigues so far succeeding as to place their districts under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. If this latter event were to take place, the petitioners consider that the entire incorporation of Macedonia into the Principality of Bulgaria would quickly follow.

The second petition comes from the inhabitants of the district of Kesrie (Kastoria), which lies to the south of Monastir. It appears that the Christian Notables of Kesrie were convoked to an assembly of the Albanian League, the meeting being composed chiefly of Mussulmans. The rules of the League, according to the petitioners, may be summarized as follows:—

1. Mutual protection and assistance amongst the members of the League, and active reprisals on those who oppose the object of the League.

2. Each district to pay a certain contribution to the funds of the League. That to be paid by Kesrie amounts to £ T. 2,500.

3. That each district should supply the soldiers within its limits with food and clothing.

4. Some penalties are to be imposed on those members of the League whose relations are in Greece, and who take up arms in opposition to the League.

The meeting above alluded to was adjourned in order to obtain a larger representation of the Christians.

The third petition is from the inhabitants of Guiortzi (Korytzi), which lies to the south-west of Monastir. The petitioners complain that they are being forced to take part in meetings of the Albanian League against their will. They also state that the "Corps Legislatif" at Frassari has drawn up a set of Rules, according to which Christians are to be compelled to serve, unless they can prove that they are incapable of bearing arms, in which case they have to find substitutes. If they endeavour to avoid military service under false pretences their houses will be burnt, their fortunes confiscated, and they and their families banished. Any Albanian who places himself in opposition to the objects of the League will be hung. The petitioners state that these Regulations will bear heavily on them, and that they live in constant terror of the fanatical leaders of the League.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 120.

*Petition from Salonica, Kelemeria, Catterina, and Districts.*

(Traduction.)

Sainteté,

DEPUIS longtemps et surtout après le Traité de San Stéphano, des organes salariés du Panslavisme traversent en tout sens le sol de notre pays, et faisant circuler des pétitions écrites en Bulgares, soustraient aux habitants naïfs des signatures et des sceaux, croyant ainsi que la province de Macédoine, qui a, par la main d'Alexandre-le-Grand, répandu l'Hellénisme dans l'Asie même, est devenue leur proie.



C'est difficile d'énumérer minutieusement les intrigues des propagandes au but de leurrer les plus naïfs des habitants, qu'elles séduisent en leur promettant que sous la protection puissante connue, une fois unie avec l'Exarchat Bulgare la Macédoine sera facilement incorporée à la Principauté de Bulgarie.

D'une autre part, des organes mercenaires du Roumanisme contestent l'origine et le caractère des communautés entières; et imitant les dites propagandes ou plutôt secondant leurs efforts, font circuler aussi des pétitions et promettent toute sorte de prospérité aux habitants, qui se trouvent à la merci des propagandes. Pour rompre l'union de la Macédoine et casser tout lien de fraternité, existant parmi les habitants, ces propagandes sèment la discorde parmi eux, soutiennent le schisme, et incitent les habitants à renoncer à la juridiction spirituelle du Patriarcat, tandis qu'elles remuent le fantôme de l'unitisme, pour en imposer à l'occident et accomplir ainsi tranquillement leurs projets; par dessus toutes ces menées, ces mêmes propagandes arment des bandes de brigands afin d'abattre par des dévastations et des massacres ceux qui s'opposent à leurs desseins, et pour montrer à l'Europe que la Macédoine se trouve sous leur domination.

Quoique les habitants de cette province ont plusieurs fois et surtout pendant les trois dernières années déclaré leur véritable sentiment, néanmoins, à l'occasion de la réunion à Constantinople de la Commission Européenne, qui doit s'occuper de l'amélioration de notre sort, nous croyons de notre devoir de protester solennellement contre les dites intrigues, de désavouer en la déclarant fausse toute pétition qui tende à la division de l'unité de notre patrie, et qui s'oppose à nos vrais et réels vœux, et de déclarer que fidèles aux traditions nationales et religieuses de nos aïeux, traditions qui lient inséparablement notre passé à notre avenir, fiers de notre origine Grecque et dévoués au Patriarcat Œcuménique ainsi qu'au Gouvernement Impérial, nous maintiendrons, au prix de toute sacrifice, intact et entier, le dépôt sacré que nos aïeux nous ont confié.

En soumettant ce qui précède à votre Sainteté nous la supplions de vouloir bien soumettre notre présente à l'honorable Commission Internationale Européenne, convoquée à Constantinople, et, en l'accompagnant des représentations qu'elle croirait nécessaires, soutenir nos vœux, dont le plus ardent est l'exécution fidèle des décisions du Congrès de Berlin relatives à la Macédoine.

*Le 27 Juin*, 1879.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 120.

*Petition from Kesrié.*

(Traduction.)

JUSQU'À présent nous n'ajoutions pas foi aux nombreux et différents bruits relatifs aux menées de la Ligue Albanaise; maintenant nous ne pouvons pas faire la même chose; car aujourd'hui quelques Notables Chrétiens de notre pays furent invités ici à une séance générale, convoquée par les membres de cette Ligue au but de délibérer les mesures nécessaires à prendre. Durant cette séance, dont les deux tiers étaient Musulmans et l'autre Chrétiens, fut d'abord lu le Règlement de cette Ligue. Selon ce Règlement les membres de cette Ligue doivent respecter la vie, l'honneur, et la fortune les uns des autres et chercher de toute manière la perte entière de tout qui oserait s'opposer à la réussite du but de la Ligue; aussi, tous les habitants des provinces qui sont entrés dans la Ligue, sont obligés (1) à payer à titre de contribution une somme d'argent indiquée dans un rôle spécial qui leur sera envoyé. Selon le rôle envoyé à la province ses habitants doivent payer en premier terme la somme de 2,500 livres; (2) à procurer des soldats de sorte que chaque famille qui a deux garçons majeurs cédât l'un au service militaire de la Ligue; et (3) à contribuer régulièrement à la subsistance et au habillement des soldats qui seront recrutés de leur district. Selon le même Règlement, des peines fort grièves attendent ceux des citoyens dont les parents, résidant provisoirement dans la Grece, auraient pris ou qu'on supposerait qu'ils ont pris les armes, ou ceux dont les parents y seraient rendus. Il est à noter que quelques milliers des citoyens s'y trouvent.

Après la lecture de ce Règlement, dont nous avons mis ici un sommaire incomplet, commença la délibération sur les trois matières suivantes, savoir: (1) l'acquisition des co-associés et la signature du dit Règlement; (2) la nomination d'une Commission qui n'ait d'autre occupation que celle de songer aux intérêts de la Ligue; et (3) la perception et l'envoi de 2,500 livres au Comité Central. Au commencement de cette déliberation quelques Musulmans ont proposé que le Règlement fut aussitôt signé et la dite Commission nommée, mais sur l'observation des Chrétiens que dans ce Conseil les habitants du district de Kesrié ne sont pas représentés, observation approuvée aussi par plusieurs Musulmans, la délibération sur les dites matières est différée à la séance pro-

chaîne, dans laquelle des représentants de toute la province seront, par les agents de la Ligue, mandés pour y prendre part.

*Le 16 Juillet*, 1880.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 120.

*Petition from Gaiortze.*

(Traduction.)

AVANT-HIER j'ai répondu brièvement à la lettre que vous m'avez adressé le 7 du mois courant; je viens, par la présente, vous donner des informations plus amples.

Conformément à vos conseils paternels, les Chrétiens d'ici ont plusieurs fois dit aux puissants du pays qu'il leur est impossible de participer à ces démarches, qui ne sont pas dictées par le Gouvernement Impérial; mais ceux-ci leur répondent qu'il s'agit de l'intérêt national. "Si," disent-ils, "nous sommes Albanais, nous devons protéger, au prix de tout sacrifice, l'intégrité de notre pays, et nous croyons que ceci n'est pas contraire aux intérêts du Gouvernement." Au désavœu reitéré des Chrétiens ont suivi des menaces, de sorte que les Chrétiens n'ont pu résister à l'envoi des représentants à Wiglista; cela ne faut point vous étonner, savoir: que les Chrétiens obéissent à une populace conduite par des derviches et d'autres Chefs religieux fanatiques, dans les mains desquels est réduit le pouvoir Législatif et Exécutif, que le Gouvernement, semble-t-il, a déposé de bon gré. Néanmoins, les représentants Chrétiens envoyés à Wiglista ont résisté autant qu'il leur était possible, à l'Article du recrutement des Chrétiens, et ce n'est que par suite de leur résistance qu'il fut arrêté à ce Conseil que les Chrétiens contribuent seulement par argent.

Ensuite les représentants Chrétiens furent invités à signer un mandat destiné à être transmis aux représentants Albanais, envoyés d'ici à Frassari; ils ont refusé de le signer. Mais le Corps Législatif de Frassari n'ayant point pris cela en considération, a procédé à prendre des décisions diverses, dont nous mettons ici quelques-unes. Chaque citoyen doit servir à la patrie militairement. Si quelques-uns des Chrétiens opposent qu'ils ne sont pas habitués au maniement des armes, ils peuvent envoyer un autre dans leur place. On entend par cet Article que peu de Chrétiens pourront se soustraire au service militaire. Un autre Article porte que dans le service du Sécrétaire, du Caissier, et dans les autres services civiles, les Chrétiens doivent servir personnellement, et que les substituts n'y sont pas admis. Autre Article porte que, si quelqu'un pouvant servir comme soldat en aurait refusé, sa maison sera livrée au feu, sa fortune sera confisquée, et lui avec toute sa famille sera banni. Un autre Article porte que s'il est constaté qu'un Albanais s'oppose aux intérêts de la Ligue, il sera pendu. Vous voyez que les lois sont très-sévères. Il va sans dire que les Chrétiens ne peuvent pas accepter de pareils Articles, qui sont tout-à-fait contraires à leur conscience et à leurs sentiments. Par conséquent, ils n'ont pas envoyé de représentants au Corps Exécutif de ces décisions. Il est plus que sûr qu'ils attireront la colère des Musulmans.

De ce qu'il précède il résulte qu'il est de toute nécessité que des mesures efficaces soient prises pour le sort des Chrétiens. Nous croyons superflu de vous prier d'agir avec beaucoup de réserve et de prudence; car il est évident que les partisans de la Ligue qui se trouvent soit dans votre pays, soit dans le nôtre, peuvent nous détruire s'ils pressentiront que nous vous faisons de pareilles communications. Pour la même raison nous croyons préjudiciable de nous en référer télégraphiquement au Gouverneur-Général, comme vous nous avez conseillé. Nous vous prions donc de venir à notre aide par un autre moyen que vous trouverez bon.

*Le 16 Juillet*, 1880.

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No. 121.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 308.) *Therapia, August 31, 1880.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship has been already informed by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice that the Eastern Roumelian Commission has completed the elaboration of the new Organic Statute for European Turkey, and has thus, for the present, brought its labours to an end. It is fortunate, in my opinion, that a majority of the Commissioners ultimately adopted the view that the Commission must be adjourned and not dissolved, as I think



it is certainly within the range of probability that the Commission will have to be called together again.

There can be but one opinion as to the energy and ability with which the Commission has done its work, and I have had many opportunities of seeing the thoroughness and the capacity which Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, the British Commissioner, brought to bear on his difficult and complicated task. It remains to be seen, as his Lordship observes in one of his concluding despatches, whether the fate of this law will only be a fresh tale of great expectations and small results, or really lead to some practical alteration in the condition of the provinces.

His Lordship proceeds to point out, with much force, the attempt which the Porte may make to evade the vital portions of the new law by delays and subterfuges, and concludes that the only course by which such subterfuges may be prevented will be for the Powers to insist on the proclamation by the Porte of the new law in its present shape, without any change whatever, and to refuse to be led into controversy on points of detail, and upon subjects which the Commission has already fully considered.

I shall not fail to watch most closely the line of conduct which the Sublime Porte will henceforward pursue towards this project of law. Looking to the very numerous points of first-rate importance which have been "reserved" by the Turkish members of the Commission, it is certain that nothing except the greatest firmness on the part of the Powers in insisting on the acceptance by the Porte of the "avis" given by their Representative will offer any hope of the Statute being carried out as proposed. The Commission appear throughout to have acted on the view, that it was their duty to produce the best possible project, leaving the responsibility of its final rejection or acceptance on the Porte. I do not gather that the results arrived at are to any extent a compromise between the views of the Porte and those of the European members of the Commission. But as regards the latter, the decisions on all great questions have been, in most cases, unanimous. Indeed, the unanimity which has prevailed amongst the Representatives of the various Powers on the Commission has been most remarkable and satisfactory, and has established the strongest claim on the part of the Commission to the support of the Powers.

I shall, I am convinced, be carrying out your Lordship's wishes if I take every opportunity of sounding my colleagues on the probable attitude which they will be instructed to take up in relation to the pressure which it may be necessary to put on the Porte to induce it to accept the Statute as it stands.

As regards the area over which the new Statute should be applied, your Lordship will have observed that, after considerable discussion, the majority decided that the Porte should be advised to apply it over the whole of European Turkey, with the exception of certain mountain tribes in Albania, to whom a special organization would be given. Your Lordship will remember that both Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and myself were of opinion that it was not expedient to extend the Statute to Albania generally, but on this point the English Commissioner was obliged to yield. I have regretted this result, though the Turkish Commissioners themselves were prepared to apply the Statute to all the vilayets.

To my mind, the state of the Albanian vilayets is so wild, and so little fitted, at present, for the more complicated parts of the new machinery of Government embodied in the Organic Law, that its introduction ought to be postponed till the authority of Government has been re-established, in the first instance, by a more drastic and simple treatment.

A perusal of the despatch of Mr. St. John as to the state of the country round Prisrend leaves little hope that order can be restored, and the authority of law and Government be re-established, except by a very strong hand, and the experience of Eastern Roumelia has shown that it is precisely in the direction of weakness on the part of the Executive that the new institutions now being elaborated may possibly err. It will be interesting to see what course the Porte may pursue as to following the advice of the Commission in giving a universal application of the new Statute in European Turkey.

With reference to the financial question raised in my despatch No. 89, of the 29th June, to which your Lordship replied on the 13th July, I consider that it has been fairly met by the Commission. As much elasticity has been given to the settlement as was compatible with fixing any proportion between the amount to be retained for the use of the provinces and the amount to be remitted for Imperial purposes, and the necessity for a financial inquiry, which was beyond the competency of the Commission, and which, if attempted, would have delayed the completion of the work with which it was charged, has been avoided.

The arrangements made have, however, increased the necessity for the financial

question being taken in hand by a body such as was contemplated by the 18th Protocol of the Treaty of Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 122.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 313. Confidential.)

*Therapia, August* 31, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a Confidential despatch which has been addressed to me by Colonel Wilson, containing his remarks on the Union Movement in Eastern Roumelia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 122.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson to Mr. Goschen.*

*Buyukdéré, August* 30, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency some remarks on the Union Movement in Eastern Roumelia, as far as it came under my notice during my recent visit to that country.

The Bulgarian peasants, generally, wish for union with Bulgaria, but they will not give up their work for it, or take any active steps to promote it, unless they are obliged to do so by Government or political agitators.

All educated Bulgarians and Government officials are, on principal, in favour of union with Bulgaria, but there are various shades of opinion with regard to the best means of attaining it.

An active, noisy party wish to push matters forward; they are in constant communication with the Pan-Bulgarian party in Bulgaria; and say that, in view of the approaching union, there is no use in doing anything, or in attempting to carry out the Organic Statute. They seek to discredit the existing Government of Eastern Roumelia by exciting the peasantry against Greeks and Moslems, and so creating disturbances. These so-called "patriots" make great use of the organization of the Gymnastic Societies to promote their views; and I was told that they expected the union to be effected towards the end of September.

A more moderate party think the present moment not opportune for union; they believe that the European Powers would not allow one of the most important provisions of the Berlin Treaty to be set aside so soon after the signature of the Treaty. They are of opinion that union with Bulgaria would be followed by war with Turkey, and realize that in that case Eastern Roumelia would be the seat of war, and her people the principal sufferers. The moderate party wish the country to have rest, and the people to become accustomed to the liberty they have acquired before attempting other enterprises; they recognize the liberal character of the Organic Statute, and try to carry out its provisions in spite of many difficulties. Some members of the party, who have visited Sophia, consider that Eastern Roumelia has made greater progress in self-government than Bulgaria, and that the cost of Government in the former is far less than in the latter; they are therefore disinclined to make any immediate change.

A small party wish for autonomy partly from selfish motives, fearing they may lose their offices when the union is effected, and partly, perhaps, from a desire to be in a position which may enable them to claim good terms for themselves when united to Bulgaria. Some of this party recognize the difference between the people and condition of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and think that after a few years' development the latter will take the lead.

The Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia are, by nature, quicker and more intelligent than those of Bulgaria, and the Balkans form a real barrier between the two countries. In Bulgaria the educated classes have been brought up in Russia, or in the Slav provinces of Austria, and their views of government are Russian and Eastern, whilst in Eastern



Roumelia they have been educated at Robert College, in England, France, Austria, or Germany, and their views are more French or Western. All the trade interests, too, of Bulgaria lie to the north of the Balkans, and her natural outlet is the Danube, whilst those of Eastern Roumelia are to the south and her outlet at Bourgas or Constantinople. This divergence of interests will be felt in a greater degree as the latter country develops; and, I think, that if the union were postponed for a few years there would either be a strong party against it, or the Union Movement would take a different form, under the leadership of Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia who have received a western education.

There are a few ambitious men in Eastern Roumelia who look forward to a wider career in a united Bulgaria, but who wish to delay the union until they have gained more practical experience in government.

The clergy are, without exception, Pan-Bulgarian; and I attribute this partly to a belief that they will occupy a more important position after the union, and partly to a feeling of hostility towards the liberal character of the clauses relating to religious liberty in the Statute.

The Bulgarians generally attribute the separation of Eastern Roumelia from Bulgaria to the action of England and Austria, and since the advent of the Liberal party to power in England they have hoped that that party would favour the Union Movement. I inclose a note of a conversation on this point with the Bishop of Slivno.

The conclusion I came to was that the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia would take no active steps to promote a union, but that if any troops crossed the Balkans from Bulgaria and proclaimed the union no resistance would be made, and that the Gymnasts, or Reservists, would at once join the Bulgarian troops.

I have no definite information with regard to the preparations made by Bulgaria, but I heard that large supplies of arms and ammunition had been imported, and that many Russian officers and non-commissioned officers had entered the country. I estimated the number of Russians in Bulgaria at about 3,000, of which 2,000 are probably officers; the excess of officers is possibly with a view of officering the Roumelian militia and Gymnasts directly troops cross the Balkans. The Bulgarian troops are principally collected between Sophia and the Ichtiman Pass, and on the line Schumla-Pravadi-Kenprikeui. The object of this is to seize the Ichtiman Pass on the outbreak of hostilities, and at the same time lend a hand to the Bulgarians in Macedonia; and to crush the large Moslem population in the Aidos-Missioria Balkans before assistance could be sent to them from Constantinople.

I believe the first shot fired on the Greek frontier would be the signal for a proclamation of the union; but the time when the movements of the Bulgarians should be most carefully watched is the period from the 1st September to the 2nd October. By an Ordinance signed by the Governor-General in October last, the Gymnasts or Reservists are to be called out during this period for field manœuvres, and, as most of the maize harvest will be gathered by the middle of September, the people will then be free for any enterprise.

I may add that Slivno and Kotel appear to be the centres of political activity as regards the Union Movement rather than Philippopoli. The Russians have a Consular Agent at Slivno, and it might perhaps be advisable for Her Majesty's Consul-General to visit the place occasionally.

With regard to the movement in favour of the annexation of a portion of Macedonia to a united Bulgaria, I was told that one of the decisions of the Slivno meeting last spring was to discourage, for the moment, active intervention in the affairs of Macedonia, but to continue the agitation by means of the clergy. This corresponds with what I heard at Nevrecop and Rushig, viz., that since the beginning of May the Bulgarian insurgent bands had almost disappeared from the mountains, and that the Bulgarian clergy were very active in promoting resistance to the claims of the Greek Church.

There seemed much anxiety in Eastern Roumelia to know the result of the labours of the International Commission charged with the elaboration of a new law for the provinces of European Turkey, and the steps which would be taken to put it in force in Macedonia. I think it not unlikely that a serious agitation will arise if any long delay occurs in the introduction of the law.

The centres of the Macedonian movement are the Monastery of Rilo, whence arms were supplied to the insurgents prior to the outbreak of the insurrection two years ago, and Dubnitza.

The views of the extreme Pan-Bulgarian party were, I think, fairly summarized by the Préfet of Tatar-Bazardjik, who is himself an Opportunist, and who has proved himself to be one of the most capable administrators in the province. In the course of conversation he said, "We detest the European Powers, because they have divided Bulgaria into three parts; we detest the Roumanians, because they hold the Dobrudscha; we detest

the Servians, because they have taken Pirot; and we detest the Greeks, because their national idea is opposed to ours. We no longer fear the Turks, as we believe Europe would not allow an occupation of the Balkans, and they will gradually disappear, as they have done in Servia and elsewhere. For my own part," he added, "I know the Turkish peasantry well, have a friendly feeling towards them, and do what I can to help them." The Préfet also said that he believed agitation would never cease until the Bulgarian national idea had been realized.

I would beg to draw your Excellency's attention to two points which have an important bearing on the political state of Eastern Roumelia; first, that the money claimed by Russia as the cost of the occupation has been placed at the disposal of the Russian Consul-General, who thus wields great power; and, second, that the militia is virtually commanded, through the Russian officers, by Captain Eek, of the Russian Imperial Staff, who is now the Russian Military Attaché at Philippopoli.

I am not aware of the policy which Her Majesty's Government propose to pursue with regard to Eastern Roumelia, but I would beg to suggest that, whilst firmly remonstrating against any acts of injustice towards the minorities, the Bulgarians should be encouraged and assisted in their efforts at self-government. I believe advice quietly and unostentatiously given would be well received by the moderate party, to which the most capable men in the country belong, and that if that party could in any way be strengthened and supported, a favourable change would soon be noticed in the government of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 122.

*Memorandum of Conversation with the Bishop of Slivno, August 4, 1880.*

THE Bishop, after bidding me welcome to Slivno, said that he was glad I had come to Eastern Roumelia to see the progress which the Bulgarians were making, and expressed a hope that I would report favourably to the Government on what I had seen. He then stated that the Bulgarians were very thankful for all that the European Powers, and especially England, had done for them. All their attention was now directed to the policy which England intended to pursue with regard to Eastern Roumelia, and they hoped that England would favour union with Bulgaria.

I asked why they desired the union, and whether they were not contented with the present position of affairs?

The Bishop replied that they were contented, but they felt that they were not independent, and that until they were united to Bulgaria they would never be men. He added that, not only did the Bulgarians ardently desire the union, but that they had commissioned him to express their wish to me, and hoped that I would bring it to the notice of the English Government.

I answered briefly that my mission was to examine into the condition of the people in Eastern Roumelia, and that I was not aware of the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the union. I also stated that, in my opinion, England and the European Powers would not approve of any agitation in favour of union with Bulgaria, and that they were not likely to permit an act which would be a serious infraction of a Treaty they had signed only two years previously.

The Bishop said the Bulgarians were thankful for the clauses relating to Eastern Roumelia in the Berlin Treaty, but he persisted in reiterating how much they desired union with Bulgaria, and how anxiously they were awaiting the time when England would favour it.

The Préfet of Slivno, who was present, seemed much annoyed at the open manner in which the Bishop had spoken of the union question, and pressed me to bring it to the notice of Her Majesty's Government.

(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

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No. 123.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 315. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 31, 1880.*

AN Aide-de-camp of the Sultan brought me on Sunday evening a letter from Munir Bey, written by the Sultan's commands, of which I inclose a copy.

His Majesty hoped that instructions might be sent to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Scutari to facilitate the task confided to Riza Pasha and to the Governor-General of the vilayet with reference to the solution of the Montenegrin question.

I was not quite clear as to the interpretation to be put upon the letter, but on the whole I came to the conclusion that I might infer from it that the Government had come to some final conclusion as to its policy in Montenegro, and that this policy was intended to be conciliatory. However, it was impossible for me to comply with His Majesty's wish without knowing at what decision the Ottoman Government had finally arrived, or whether it would be sufficiently in conformity with the views of Her Majesty's Government to enable me to authorize Mr. Green to support Riza Pasha.

Mr. Green's telegrams as to the proceedings of that officer were not encouraging.

Under the circumstances, I sent a reply to Munir Bey, explaining in very conciliatory language that it was impossible for me to act until I knew what instructions Riza Pasha had received, and what arrangement he was to carry out. I would immediately see Abédine Pasha, and endeavour to obtain the necessary statements from him. I inclose a copy of this reply.

Yesterday I saw his Excellency; I showed him the correspondence which had passed, and asked him to tell me plainly how matters stood. What was now their plan? He replied in substance, after recapitulating at great length the previous steps of the negotiations, that the Porte would adopt the Dulcigno arrangement and the line of frontier east of the Lake of Scutari agreed on by the Powers, and presented to them in the memorandum dated the 9th instant, with the exception that Dinosi and a fortified post called "Madagosh" should be left to the Turks; that they had referred to the line of frontier east of the lake fixed by the Berlin Treaty, because they had no other line officially communicated to them before, but that they had not meant to regain Kucki-Kraina by it; that they would now abandon the idea of going back to the frontier line of the Berlin Treaty, as proposed in this last note, and only claim the above exceptions to the line proposed by the Powers. He added that they had communicated with Hodo Bey at Tusi, asking him whether he was a loyal subject of the Porte, and inviting him no longer to obstruct the fulfilment of the engagements of the Porte, and that they had just received a loyal answer in reply.

With regard to Madagosh, his Excellency explained to me that they hoped the Powers would see the justice of leaving this post to the Turks, but that they did not insist on it in the same way as they did on Dinosi. The peaceful cession of Dulcigno would necessarily depend on the Albanians being assured that they might keep Dinosi. As to Madagosh, the question might stand over; only if the Powers insisted on its being given to the Montenegrins, then he hoped its surrender might be delayed for some time.

I hereupon asked his Excellency whether I might regard the plan he had sketched to me as official and final. Had it been actually adopted? He replied, "Only by a majority." It had been sent to the Sultan, but he had received no answer yet as to whether it had received his Imperial sanction. He had no knowledge of the Sultan's having communicated with me privately on the previous evening. He seemed to me to infer, from the communication made to me, that the Sultan would adopt the plan I have described.

I suggested that whatever telegram might be sent to Mr. Green should only be sent after I had been informed of the definite plan which would be proposed for execution by the Porte. His Excellency believed that the assistance which His Majesty wished for from our Consul at Scutari would be that he should use his influence with the Albanians not to resist the cession of Dulcigno. I said that such co-operation could undoubtedly be given, and I sketched the words of a telegram to Mr. Green, requesting him to use all his influence with the Albanians to yield and to accept the cession of Dulcigno, and authorizing him to state that he had been officially informed that in so doing they would be carrying out the wishes of the Sultan and the Porte.

On my putting the matter in this categorical form, his Excellency exclaimed that he quite concurred, except with one reservation; it would be necessary to add that Dinosi would be left to the Albanians, otherwise such a telegram would do more harm than good. On this I replied that I had no instruction which would warrant me in making any such

declaration. The question thus stands over for the present. As nothing could be done till the Sultan's acceptance or rejection of the last Ministerial proposal is notified, it was of no use carrying the matter any further.

On the whole, it appeared to me that Abédine Pasha was hopeful of an arrangement being at last arrived at. He did not allude, except in the most cursory manner, to the naval demonstration, and after the turn the conversation had taken it was not necessary to introduce the topic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 123.

*Munir Bey to Mr. Goschen.*

*Le 29 Août*, 1880.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

SA Majesté Impériale me charge d'avoir l'honneur de faire parvenir ses compliments à votre Excellence et de lui dire qu'elle verrait avec plaisir que le Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique à Scutari voulût bien prêter son concours à l'accomplissement de la mission confiée au Général Riza Pacha et au Gouverneur-Général du vilayet. Sa Majesté Impériale espérant fermement que ce concours ne pourra que faciliter la solution de la question en suspens, exprime en conséquence le désir que votre Excellence veuille bien donner au dit Consul l'instruction de seconder les efforts des personnes susmentionnées.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) MUNIR.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 123.

*Mr. Goschen to Munir Bey.*

(Personnelle.)

*Thérapia, le 29 Août*, 1880.

Excellence,

JE m'empresse de répondre à votre billet et je vous prie tout d'abord de présenter l'hommage de mes respects à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique est bien désireux de prêter son concours à la solution de la question de la frontière Monténégrine, et notre Consul à Scutari a fait tous les efforts possibles pour suggérer des arrangements pratiques afin que par leur acceptation la Sublime Porte puisse se délivrer des difficultés qu'elle rencontre dans l'exécution de ses engagements.

Je désire que les circonstances lui permettent de continuer dans cette voie. Mais il m'est impossible de lui donner des ordres précises pour faciliter la tâche de Général Riza Pasha et du Gouverneur-Général du vilayet avant que j'aie été renseigné sur la teneur des ordres qui ont été donnés à ces officiers et sur l'arrangement dont l'exécution leur a été confiée.

Je m'empresserai de voir son Excellence Abédine Pacha demain et il me sera très-agréable si je pourrais informer mon Gouvernement qu'une telle solution a été donnée à la question de la frontière que notre Consul à Scutari puisse être autorisé à y prêter tout son concours.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 124.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 530. Confidential.)

*Vienna, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

M. DE KALLAY learns from Constantinople that the Porte does not ask that the frontier line to the east of the Lake of Scutari should strictly follow the text of the Treaty of Berlin, but that it should be drawn upon the principle of *uti possidetis*.

According to his information in regard to the positions actually occupied by the Albanians, this arrangement would secure to the latter nearly half the territory between what may be called the Treaty and the Commission lines, and it would, moreover, be very



difficult to define, owing to the manner in which some of the Montenegrin and Albanian positions are dovetailed together.

Even as regards Matagos, he would not consider it advisable to comply with the request of the Porte, which is of more importance than would appear from a first glance, as the name applies not to a village, but to a district within which the Albanians hold positions much nearer the Montenegrin frontier than the spot indicated as Matagos on the map, the retention of which they would probably claim.

However, although he points out the objections to which the Turkish request appears open, and thinks that it would therefore be best to adhere to the proposal of the Imperial Government, he is quite ready to consent to it if the other Powers consider such a course desirable.

The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople appears to have urged, much as Mr. Goschen has done, the importance of sending in the answer to Abédine Pasha's note as soon as possible, and M. de Kallay expresses much annoyance at the delay that is caused by the absence of any communication on the subject from the Russian Government.

I may mention to your Lordship, confidentially, that M. de Kallay has frequently intimated a doubt whether the Russian Government wished this frontier question to be so quickly settled as to prevent the naval demonstration from taking place, and their delay in accepting the note which all the other Powers have agreed upon confirms him in his suspicions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 125.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 532. Confidential.)

*Vienna, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

I LEARN that Major Thommel has informed his Government that the Prince of Montenegro had given him the most satisfactory assurances of his readiness to accept the frontier arrangement which may be made by the Powers.

When the Porte attached so much importance to the retention of Dinosi, His Highness had almost immediately stated that he did not attach sufficient value to its acquisition to wish to stand in the way of an arrangement, and though there is a suspicion of some influence having been exerted to induce him to withhold his consent, it would seem, according to the report of the Austrian Minister, to have been unsuccessful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 126.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 533.)

*Vienna, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

THE Austrian newspapers have published an answer said to have been given by Prince Alexander to a deputation of the Macedonian Bulgarian League, which is represented as having caused extraordinary enthusiasm among the Panslavists, in whose favour His Highness has not hitherto stood very high.

The Prince is represented as having said, "I can only rejoice that the Macedonians who have hitherto been so cruelly treated should have addressed their petition to me in the first instance, for it has certainly fallen on fruitful ground. I am mindful of my sacred duties, and I promise you faithfully that I will leave no lawful means untried to bring about the liberation of our Macedonian brethren."

M. de Kállay is unable to inform me whether the speech as given above is authentic or not, but he has caused inquiry to be made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 127.

*Draft of Self-Denying Protocol.*

THE Governments represented by the Undersigned, in order to prove anew the entire disinterestedness with which they pursue the execution of all the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, engage not to seek in any arrangements which may be come to in consequence of their concerted action for the execution of the said Treaty in regard to the Montenegrin question, and eventually the Greek question, any augmentation of territory, any exclusive influence or any commercial advantage for their subjects which those of every other nation may not equally obtain.

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No. 128.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 7.)*

*Admiralty, September 6, 1880.*

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, extracts from a letter of proceedings from Commander B. F. Clark, of Her Majesty's ship "Falcon," dated the 25th August last, relative to the Greek force under arms and the movement of troops.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosures 1 in No. 128.

*Commander Clark to Vice-Admiral Seymour.*

*"Falcon," August 25, 1880.*

(Extract.)

4. HAVING put Commander Selby in possession of all the information in my power, and turned over to him the Senior Officer's orders, I left Chanak the next morning at daylight, and arrived at Salonica on the afternoon of the 13th.

5. I have no news to report from there.

The country is infested with brigands, rendering it unsafe to go any distance from the town, but beyond that everything is quiet. There are about 1,000 troops in and about Salonica, and whilst I was there a frigate came in and took 600 away for Dulcigno.

6. I again left on the 15th, and arrived at Volo the following morning, where I found Captain Swaine. The country about there is in the same unsafe state as at Salonica. The harvest has been poor, and they have suffered severely from cattle plague, and in consequence the troops in Thessaly are badly fed and discontented, and there has been a great deal of desertion: several hundreds have crossed over into Greek territory, amongst them a Bim-Bashi (Major). There are at present about 18,000 troops in Thessaly, with abundance of ammunition; but the men recently sent there have been insufficient to fill the gaps caused by desertion and the discharge of time-expired men.

Whilst I was at Volo an Austrian steamer arrived with 1,500 men on board; but of that number only 400 were landed there, the remainder being sent round to Prevesa.

7. On the 18th I went on to Stylida to enable Captain Swaine to visit the Greek troops at Lamia. There are only about 1,100 men there, consisting of a battalion of infantry, two troops of cavalry, and a battery of six guns. The men are suffering a good deal from fever, owing to the near neighbourhood of marshes, and they expect to suffer more for the next two months.

I left Stylida at daylight on the 20th, and, passing through the Negropont Channel and the Bridge of Chalcis, anchored at Phalerum Bay on the evening of the 21st.

8. I received from Her Majesty's Consul your telegram directing me to proceed to Syracuse, and I accordingly disembarked Captain Swaine the following morning, and left for that place, where I have now the honour to report my arrival.

9. The total Greek force now under arms is, I believe, 18,000 men, and the Ministry profess themselves satisfied with the way the recruits are coming in; but I have been assured on good authority, both at Athens and Constantinople, that the better class of young Greeks are leaving by dozens in every mail-steamer to avoid the conscription,



having no stomach for fighting the Turks. I may add that this is confirmed by private letters from Corfu.

10. The day I left Constantinople a large Russian merchant transport, painted white, came down the Bosphorus, having on board two Whitehead torpedo-boats, apparently about 50 feet long, but I was unable to ascertain her destination before leaving.

She very much resembles the "Assistance," and probably from her colour is going to China.

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*Vice-Admiral Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

*"Alexandra," at Palermo, August 28, 1880.*

Forwarded for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR,
*Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.*

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No. 129.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7, 10 A.M.)*

(No. 89.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 6, 1880, 9 P.M.*

I LEARN from a trustworthy and confidential source that three Turkish battalions will probably march this night from Scutari to occupy the proposed new frontier of the Dulcigno district. Riza Pasha has been distributing money to influence natives to make them submit to the new arrangement.

The volunteers from Prisrend and other North-east Albanian districts, have returned to Scutari from Dulcigno, evidently through the same all-powerful means.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 130.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7, 1880, 4 P.M.)*

(No. 90.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 7, 1880, 10 A.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 68 of the 3rd September, Prince Nicholas informs me he will be ready by the 15th instant for either of the contingencies mentioned.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 131.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7.)*

(No. 144.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 6, 1880.*

AUSTRIAN Government are perplexed by the reports from St. Petersburgh and Constantinople that Russia now refuses to agree to the proposed note to the Porte, and says that the whole of the Dulcigno arrangement as first settled must be maintained.

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No. 132.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 7, 7 P.M.)*

(No. 145.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 7, 1880, 5 P.M.*

AUSTRIAN Government have informed their Chargé d'Affaires at Paris that they consider the difference between the proposed French instructions to the Admiral and those of the other Powers far from unimportant.

Her Majesty's Government had drawn up the instructions with the modifications that

had been suggested; it would be right that the French Government should come to an understanding with England with reference to those that they are preparing.

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No. 133.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7*, 1880, 11 P.M.)

(No. 146.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 7*, 1880, 6·26 P.M.

THE Austrian Government are informed from Cettinjé that the Prince now says he had been misunderstood when he was represented as being indifferent about Dinosi, or as being willing to abandon his claim to it. This change in his language, simultaneously with the change at St. Petersburgh, is attributed to the same influence.

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No. 134.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7*, 11 P.M.)

(No. 147.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 7*, 1880, 7·9 P.M.

M. KÁLLAY has [? remarked] to me that there is [? one] point of difference between the instructions to the Admiral communicated by your Lordship and those which had been suggested by the Austrian Government, and as he had understood the latter to have been fully accepted by Her Majesty's Government, he wishes me to ascertain whether one line in them had been omitted by accident or intentionally in the draft forwarded in your Lordship's despatch No. 575.

The line in question was in the last sentence but one, and ran as follows:—

"Then the action of the fleet is to be considered as terminated."

M. Kállay seems to give considerable importance to it.

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No. 135.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September 7*, 1880.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 496, German Government have no Representative in Montenegro, and no means of communicating with the Prince.

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No. 136.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7.*)

(No. 91.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September 7*, 1880.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 409, Count Hatzfeldt has been instructed to sign self-denying Protocol at Constantinople.

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No. 137.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7.*)

(No. 92.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September 7*, 1880.

YOUR Lordship's No. 491.

German Government adhere to your Lordship's instructions to the naval Commanders, and will tell French Government that it is too late to alter them.

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No. 138.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7*, 3·15 P.M.)

(No. 81.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 7*, 1880, 1·40 P.M.

NAVAL demonstration.

With reference to my telegram No. 80 of Saturday, M. de Courcel says that the answers received from several Powers to their proposal that their modified instructions should be accepted show that those Powers consider themselves bound towards England, and that England, not having apprised them that she would accept the French modifications, they cannot depart from their engagement with England.

French Government, therefore, regret to be obliged to give up complete identity of instructions, and they despatch new instructions to Admiral this evening. These are similar in substance to the former, but omit any passages which would imply identity.

He promised to communicate them to me.

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No. 139.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7*, 4 P.M.)

(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 7*, 1880, 1·45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 431.

French Government will instruct their Representative in Montenegro to join Mr. Green in urging the Prince of Montenegro to commence his preparations at once to occupy Dulcigno district.

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No. 140.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 7*, 4·15 P.M.)

(No. 83.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 7*, 1880, 2 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 432.

French Ambassador at Constantinople was authorized on the 3rd to sign self-denying Protocol, and instructions will be now sent to him to authorize its communication at once to the Porte, as a proof of the disinterested motives of Powers in pressing the settlement of the Greek and Montenegrin questions.

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No. 141.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 439.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 7*, 1880, 4 P.M.

SUSPEND any action on No. 1214, Secret, of 3rd instant, if not too late, as an amended instruction may perhaps be substituted.

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No. 142.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 8.*)

(No. 268. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, August 23*, 1880.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 321 of the 29th ultimo to Mr. Goschen, and copy of which has been forwarded to me by Sir Julian Pauncefote in despatch No. 81 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to state that I believe the Porte would now not attempt to cast the blame of the commencement of the conflict which occurred at Goluborci between the Albanians and Montenegrins on the latter, as Izzet Pasha admitted to me that he had been misled by an account of the affair received by his Excellency from an irresponsible person at Tousi.

The Montenegrin Government was no doubt justified in declining to accept the pro-

posal of the Porte to send a Mixed Commission to inquire, on the locality itself, into the matter, as the facts of the case were far too notorious to require such a formality, and as it would have been absurd for it to accept the safe-conduct offered by the Turkish Government for the Commission in a district where, it asserts, the North Albanians are acting in open opposition to the wishes of the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 143.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 8.)*

(No. 271. Political.)
*Scutari, August 24, 1880.*

My Lord,

THE manner in which the Turkish authorities have allowed the expiration of the term granted by the collective note of the 3rd instant to be answered by the North Albanians discredits most completely the promises and assurances which have been given by the Porte in the hope of averting the contemplated naval demonstration.

Last night being the eve of the expiry of the twenty-one days accorded for the surrender of either the Tonsi territories or those of Dulcigno, a body of about 300 Mussulman Scutarines and 100 so-called volunteers from Prisrend started by boats on the River Boyana for Dulcigno. Great crowds collected to see them embark, and with cheers and salvoes of musketry marked their departure. Not a sign of disapproval was shown by the civil or military authorities.

Several hours after the volunteers had left—this being the month of Ramadan, when business is transacted at night time—Rizah Pasha sent for the Mahommedan members of the Scutari Committee and upbraided them with having failed to follow his injunctions to leave the safety of Dulcigno in his hands.

His tone, it is said, was so severe that one of the Committee, fearing he might proceed to order the arrest of himself and colleagues, left the room, and went and gave to the people assembled in the neighbourhood notice of what was happening, when they immediately deputed ten of their number to go to Rizah Pasha and inform the Committee peremptorily that they were required by their fellow-townsmen. Accounts of the entry of these ten men into the Pasha's room differ, some asserting that a pistol was actually levelled at the General's head; but all agree in saying that the Committee was allowed to withdraw as if it was the only authority in Scutari.

For a greater part of the rest of the night the Mussulman inhabitants paraded the streets armed with their rifles, but I have no hesitation, from my knowledge of the state of relations between the Turkish authorities and the Committee, in expressing the belief that the whole of the proceeding was pre-arranged between them in order to relieve the former from some of the responsibility of passing occurrences, and which are so at variance with the official language of the Porte.

A simple order to the guild of boatmen not to supply the necessary barges to the volunteers, and a couple of companies of soldiers to guard the heads of the two bridges, would have been more than sufficient to prevent the departure of a single man for Dulcigno, and would have saved the timid Rizah Pasha from imagining that he was about, perhaps, to follow in the steps of Mehemed Ali Pasha.

If my observations as to the double dealing of the functionaries of the Turkish Government should be considered by it as prejudiced, I would be disposed to retract them on proof being forthcoming that ammunition has not been served out during the last few days from the military magazines to the Scutari Committee, for the use of the very volunteers whose departure Rizah Pasha censured when they were well beyond recall.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 144.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 8.)*

(No. 272. Political.)
*Scutari, August 24, 1880.*

My Lord,

I HAVE already had the honour of reporting to your Lordship that the Scutari Committee of the Albanian League had assumed the collection from the peasantry and appropriated the tithes due to the Government.



On the appointment of Hadji Osman Pasha as successor of Izzet Pasha, I called upon his Excellency, and availed myself of the opportunity to ask him on what authority the Committee was acting in the manner described. He denied all knowledge of the matter; but next day, when he returned my call, he informed me that he had received a complaint from the Collector of Tithes against the Committee, and that he had, consequently, summoned it to intimate to it that it must immediately desist from its arbitrary action.

I have since ascertained that the Committee disregarded for several days Hadji Osman Pasha's summons, and that, when at last he was able to assemble it, the reply obtained was, that a petition had been addressed to the Sultan to permit the revenue in question to be devoted to the wants of the province, and that, an answer not having been forthcoming, the requirements of the Committee obliged it to act independently. The Committee was, however, prepared to consider the appropriation of the revenue as a loan, and hereafter, when affairs settled down, to give an account of its stewardship to the proper authority. Hadji Osman Pasha hereupon desired the Christian members of the Committee to withdraw; but whatever his further observations may have been, they have resulted in the continuance by the Committee of the collection of the tithes.

This lamentable abdication by the Ottoman authority of one of its most important functions, for the purpose of opposing, in an occult manner, the wishes of Europe with reference to the settlement of affairs here, can only bring about future troubles for the unfortunate North Albanian peasantry, or a considerable loss for the Public Treasury if it acknowledges the discharges issued by the Scutari Committee.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 145.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 8.)*

(No. 825.)
*Paris, September 7, 1880.*

My Lord,

BARON DE COURCEL asked me this morning whether I had received any answer in reply to the telegram which I had promised to send to your Lordship after my interview with Admiral Jauréguiberry and him on the 5th instant.

(The telegram which I sent is my No. 80, and its extender is my despatch No. 817 of the above date.)

I replied in the negative.

M. de Courcel said that from what he had learnt from M. Challemel-Lacour, it appeared that your Lordship persisted in thinking that you would not be justified in now informing the Powers that Her Majesty's Government had no objection to accept the modified instructions which the French Government had proposed to give to their Admiral in respect of the naval demonstration off Dulcigno.

M. de Courcel went on to say that the answers which the French Government ha received from several Governments showed that the latter considered themselves bound towards England, and that, as they had not been apprized by your Lordship that Her Majesty's Government would accept the French modifications, they could not depart from their engagement to England.

Under these circumstances, M. de Courcel continued, the French Government regretted to be obliged to give up their hope that there would be complete identity of instructions to the Admirals, and new instructions would, consequently, be sent off to the French Admiral at Toulon this evening. They would, he said, be similar in substance to the last ones, but they would naturally omit any passages which would imply identity of instructions.

I remarked that I hoped these new instructions would be communicated to me, and M. de Courcel promised that they should be.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 146.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8.)

(No. 827.)
*Paris, September* 7, 1880.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 437 of yesterday, I told Baron de Courcel this morning that Her Majesty's Government had instructed Mr. Green to urge the Prince of Montenegro to commence preparations at once to occupy the district of Dulcigno, and I asked if the French Government would instruct their Representative in Montenegro to join with Mr. Green in so doing.

M. de Courcel replied that instructions to the effect desired by Her Majesty's Government would be sent by telegraph to the French Representative in Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 147.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8.)

(No. 829.)
*Paris, September* 7, 1880.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 432 of yesterday, I communicated to Baron de Courcel this morning the text of the self-denying Protocol as now settled, and as contained in that telegram, and I asked him if the French Government would authorize M. Tissot to sign it.

M. de Courcel answered that M. Tissot had been instructed on the 3rd instant to sign the Protocol if the other Representatives were similarly authorized.

I told M. de Courcel that Her Majesty's Government considered it to be advisable that this Protocol should be communicated to the Porte as a proof that the motives of the Powers in urging the settlement of the Montenegrin and Greek questions were disinterested, and I asked if the French Government would agree to this communication being made to the Porte.

M. de Courcel said that this was quite the view the French Government took of the matter, and that he would telegraph to M. Tissot to authorize him to join with the other Representatives in communicating the Protocol to the Porte for the reasons stated by your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 148.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8.)

(No. 830.)
*Paris, September* 7, 1880.

My Lord,

BARON DE COURCEL told me this morning that the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires had come to him several days ago with a proposal with respect to the Montenegrin frontier to the effect that the Dulcigno district should be surrendered to the Montenegrins, and that, as to the remainder, the *status quo* should be maintained. I conclude that this proposal is the same as that contained in Mr. Goschen's telegram No. 109 of the 1st instant to your Lordship.

M. de Courcel said that he had replied to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires that he could not discuss this new proposal with him, as the action of the French Government was confined to joining with the other Powers in what might be agreed to amongst them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 149.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 1 P.M.)

(No. 91.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 7, 1880, 9 P.M.

FOUR battalions and one battery of mountain artillery marched from Scutari to occupy new frontier near Dulcigno. Great excitement prevails among Mussulman townspeople, and about 300 left this afternoon for the Mazura.

Bedri Bey, the Turkish Delegate of the Boundary Commission, tells me nothing can be done with these Albanians for the present, so, notwithstanding the Turkish troops, we must consider them masters of the situation.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 150.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 1 P.M.)

(No. 92.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 7, 1880, 9·15 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 90 of this morning, I have received a further communication from Montenegro, setting forth the expense to the Principality of placing itself on a war footing, and expressing the hope that by the 15th the Admiral in command will be prepared to act without considerable delay.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 151.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 11·30 A.M.)

(No. 93. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 7, 1880, 9·30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 75 of yesterday.

The Italian Chargé d'Affaires told me last Wednesday that he did not believe the naval demonstration would come to anything, or that affairs here would be settled for another two years. The Italian Consul at Scutari holds somewhat similar language, and endeavours to identify himself with the extreme Mussulman party.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 152.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.**

(No. 491.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1880, 4 P.M.

TELEGRAM from the Porte of the 2nd September has been communicated by Turkish Chargé d'Affaires. It quotes a telegram from Riza Pasha, in which he speaks of the impossibility of inducing the Albanians to accept the Ottolenghi line. The line in question, which was proposed by the Italian member of the Boundary Commission, and would give to Montenegro land belonging to the Hoti tribe, is not proposed under the Dulcigno arrangement, which takes the line bounding the Hoti territory as determined by the Commission.

Captain Sale informs me that the new line proposed by the Porte is physically a very bad one, and would include in Albania several Slav villages.

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* Also to Mr. Adams (No. 441), Lord Odo Russell (No. 503), Sir H. Elliot (No. 557), the Earl of Dufferin (No. 616), Mr. Macdonell (No. 545), Mr. Kirby Green (No. 79).

No. 153.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8.)

(No. 121.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 8, 1880.

YOUR telegram No. 534.

Italian Government continue to adhere to your Lordship's instruction to the naval Commanders, and approve of the compromise proposed by Her Majesty's Government.

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No. 154.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 4·30 P.M.)

(No. 122.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 8, 1880, 2 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 538 of the 6th September.

Italian Government has given necessary instructions to its Ambassador to sign the self-denying Protocol, embodying Austrian modifications. They likewise agree to its immediate presentation, for the reasons specified by your Lordship.

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No. 155.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8.)

(No. 123.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 8, 1880.

YOUR telegram No. 539.

Italian Representative in Montenegro has been instructed to join Mr. Green in urging the Prince to prepare for the occupation of Dulcigno.

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No. 156.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 9 P.M.)

(No. 208.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 8, 1880, 4 P.M.

WOULD you think it expedient for Lieutenant Vincent to proceed quietly to Bulgaria to visit various points where militia is concentrated, and to travel along the route by which arms and ammunition are said to be imported?

I have not asked opinion of Mr. Lascelles, wishing, in the first instance, to obtain your own views.

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No. 157.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 9·30 P.M.)

(No. 158.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880, 7 P.M.

BARON JOMINI has received a telegram from Livadia to the effect that if all the other Powers subscribe to the Austrian proposition relative to Montenegro, the Imperial Cabinet will concur, in order to preserve the necessary concert.

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No. 158.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 9·45 P.M.)

(No. 159.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880, 7·15 P.M.

THE Prince of Montenegro has telegraphed to say that if the occupation of Dulcigno is to be pacific he will be ready in eight days; but if it becomes necessary to employ force a longer time will be required for his preparations.

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No. 159.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 10 P.M.)

(No. 160.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

BARON JOMINI has no doubt that the Russian Government will adhere to the self-denying Protocol, and my note on the subject has been forwarded to Livadia.

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No. 160.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 10 P.M.)

(No. 161.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880, 7·45 P.M.

THE instructions to the Russian Admiral will be altered in conformity with the amended form of the English instructions.

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No. 161.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 8, 11·30 P.M.)

(No. 85.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 8, 1880, 10·40 P.M.

FRENCH contingent sails from Toulon at daybreak to-morrow.

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No. 162.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.**

(No. 444. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1880.

IN a telegram from the Porte dated the 2nd instant, which has been communicated to me by the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, mention is made of a telegram from Riza Pasha, in which he speaks of the impossibility of prevailing upon the Albanians to accept the Ottolenghi line.

I have to observe that the line referred to, which was proposed by the Italian member of the Boundary Commission, and would hand over to Montenegro land belonging to the Hoti tribe, is not proposed under the Dulcigno arrangement, which takes the line bounding the Hoti territory, as defined by the Commission.

I am informed by Captain Sale that the new line proposed by the Porte is a very bad one physically, and would allot several Slav villages to Albania.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 163.

*Sir J. Pauncefote to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1880.

WITH reference to my letter of the 4th instant, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of telegraphic correspondence which has passed between his Lordship and Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Paris in regard to the naval demonstration.†

Their Lordships will see from these telegrams that the French Government maintain their objections to the draft instructions proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and that they have sent a separate instruction to their Admiral. A copy of this instruction has not yet been received, but as the other Powers adhere to the Anglo-Austrian draft, Lord

* Also to Mr. Adams, Lord Odo Russell, Sir H. Elliot, the Earl of Dufferin, Mr. Macdonell, and Mr. Kirby Green.

† Nos. 48 and 70.

Granville is of opinion that Captain Sale should be dispatched to-night to Ragusa with the instructions for Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

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No. 164.

*Sir J. Pauncefote to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to my other letter of this day's date, I am directed by Earl Granville to state to you that the wording of the Confidential Draft (C) to Admiral Sir B. Seymour will require some alteration in consequence of the communications that have passed with the French Government since the date at which it was prepared, and I am to inclose an amended draft which I am to request you to move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to substitute for the draft sent with my letter of the 28th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

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Inclosure in No. 164.

(C.)

*Draft of a Despatch from the Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Confidential.) *Admiralty, August* , 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to my preceding despatch, I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to state to you that the Governments of Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy have sent instructions to their Commanders similar to those addressed to you.

The French Government, as you will see from the Confidential correspondence with Mr. Adams, of which copies are inclosed,* for your own information only, have proposed certain modifications in the instructions, and, as the Powers adhered to our draft, they have sent a separate instruction to their Admiral, of which a copy is inclosed for your information.

I am, &c.

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No. 165.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September* 9.)

*Admiralty, September* 9, 1880.

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, extracts from a letter of Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 5th instant from Ragusa, reporting his proceedings since leaving Palermo, and alluding to the disposition of the foreign ships of war.

2. My Lords desire me to request that the special attention of Lord Granville may be called to the paragraph mentioning the absence on leave of Mr. St. John, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Ragusa at the present time.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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* See Part LII, No. 641, and *ante*, Nos. 36, 48, and 70.



Inclosure in No. 165.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Extract.) *Ragusa, September* 5, 1880.

ON the 4th instant I had the honour to receive their Lordships' orders to proceed to Ragusa, and at 4 P.M. I quitted the anchorage of Palermo with the "Alexandra," "Temeraire," and "Condor," which latter vessel, in accordance with their Lordships' directions received by telegram on the afternoon of the 1st instant, I dispatched to Brindisi at noon on the 3rd, when off Cape Santa Maria de Leuca, for the purpose of obtaining the despatches which left London for me on the 31st ultimo.

The weather in the Adriatic being fine, the "Alexandra" and "Temeraire" made the Dalmatian coast about Cattaro on the 4th, and having been joined by the "Bittern," from Ragusa, passed between that town and Lacronia Island at 1 P.M. on the same day, and anchored between Daka Island and the main at 2·20 P.M.

At the anchorage off Port Gravosa of the English charts were the following vessels:—

Austrian composite frigate "Laudon," of fifteen guns, with the flag of Rear-Admiral Elberan.

Iron-clads "Custozza" and "Prinz Eugen;" corvette, "Srenyic," and the Russian frigate "Svetland," bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Cremer, who, however, is absent at Cettinjé, in Montenegro, and will not return until the 7th.

The customary civilities have been exchanged between the Austrian and the Russian authorities and myself, but I regret to state that I have been unable as yet to obtain from them any accurate information as to the state of affairs in the district of Dulcigno. In the course of conversation the Austrian Admiral stated to me his belief that the Turks had occupied the town of Dulcigno with 2,000 men, but that he was not certain that such was the case. He also said that the Albanians had thrown up some earthworks for the defence of the town.

The absence on leave of Mr. St. John, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Ragusa, at this particular moment, is a source of much inconvenience to Her Majesty's service.

It is my intention to remain here until I am enabled to carry into effect the instructions which I am awaiting, and which should arrive to-morrow or next day, either by the "Iris," from Palermo, or by one of the gun-vessels from Brindisi. In the course of next week I hope to establish a regular postal service between Brindisi and this anchorage by means of the "Condor" and "Falcon," and the Italian despatch-vessel "Marcontonio Colonna," so as to enable us to send and receive our mails three times a-week.

On the arrival of the "Helicon," I shall probably send the "Iris" to Brindisi to superintend this service.

The "Bittern" will convey this despatch to Brindisi, and will then return to her station among the Ionian Islands, and will convey to Prevesa the parcel containing the cipher-book for C. A. Blakeney, Esq., Her Majesty's Vice-Consul.

The Italian squadron, under Rear-Admiral Fincati, consisting of the iron-clads "Palestro" and "Ronia," and despatch-vessel "Marcantonio Colonna," is now standing in.

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No. 166.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 9.)

(No. 9.)
(Telegraphic.) *Sophia, September* 8, 1880.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 138 of the 3rd instant, respecting reply which the Prince is reported to have made to the Macedonian deputation at Varna, His Highness' Secretary, who was present at the interview, denies that the Prince said that he considered Macedonia as a province of his own dominions.

His Highness merely expressed his sympathy with the misfortunes of Macedonia, which he hoped Europe would find the means of alleviating.

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No. 167.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 9, 12·30 P.M.)*

(No. 94.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 8, 1880, 5·30 P.M.*

THE arrival of volunteers and their despatch to Dulcigno is proceeding with the same freedom as it did in the end of July. For the present, therefore, the regular troops sent in that direction must be looked upon as intended to oppose the action of the Powers. If categorical orders are not immediately sent to Riza Pasha to prove that the Turkish Government is the only authority here, I had better join the Admiral at Ragusa and proceed to Montenegro. In that case I should first have to remove my family from Scutari, where I cannot abandon it alone.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 168.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 573.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 9, 1880.*

YOUR 147.

The words mentioned by M. Kállay seem to have been omitted by inadvertence.

Pray say so, and add that as we have stated to all the Powers that we have adopted the Austrian modifications, we will insert the phrase in our naval instructions.

We have informed the Russian, German, and Italian Governments.

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No. 169.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 9, 1 P.M.)*

(No. 210.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 9, 1880, 10 A.M.*

WITH reference to Mr. Green's telegrams Nos. 93 and 94, should not the Ambassadors here be instructed to take some strong and immediate collective action towards the Porte?

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No. 170.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 9, 5·15 P.M.)*

(No. 213.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 9, 1880, 3 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 464 of the 3rd instant, I have received following from Consul at Bourgas:—

"Twenty-five Russian non-commissioned officers arrived from Odessa since the 19th August. No arms or ammunition. Twenty non-commissioned officers are expected from same port. Philippopoli newspaper reports of Russian officers passing here are without foundation."

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No. 171.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.*

(No. 626.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 9, 1880, 2·15 P.M.*

I TOLD Russian Ambassador of the telegram I was sending to you, urging his Government to agree to Austrian note respecting Montenegro.

He has communicated to me reply from Livadia, stating that Prince Nicholas attaches much importance to possession of Dinosi, and that for this reason Russian Government hesitate to abandon it to the Albanians; that, moreover, they do not believe that the Turks will be content with this concession, or that it will advance a settlement; but if it is



otherwise and all the Powers accept the Austrian proposal, Russian Government will also accept rather than destroy the European concert.

I have answered that all the other Powers do agree that the Prince of Montenegro is ready to conform himself to their wishes, that the Porte cannot consent until the proposal is made, and in the meantime the responsibility of delay is transferred to the Powers. We therefore hope that instructions will be sent at once to Russian Ambassador at Constantinople.

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No. 172.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 85.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 9, 1880, 3·20 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 92, inform Prince of Montenegro that the date when the Admiral will be ready must depend on the agreement being complete as to the terms of the arrangement demanded from the Porte.

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No. 173.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 86.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 9, 1880, 4·15 P.M.*

WITH reference to Sir H. Elliot's telegram No. 146, if the Prince of Montenegro shows a disposition to draw back from the assurances he has given that he will conform strictly to the wishes of the Powers, he should be warned that if in consequence of difficulties raised by him the concert of the Powers is interrupted, and the proposed settlement fails, he must not expect any further assistance or support from Her Majesty's Government.

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No. 174.

*Earl Granville to Lord Odo Russell.**

(No. 517.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 9, 1880, 5 P.M.*

WE have agreed, at the request of the Austrian Government, to insert the words, "then the action of the fleet is to be considered as terminated," in the last paragraph but one of the instructions to the Admiral, after the words "cases above mentioned."

The phrase existed in the Austrian draft, but was inadvertently omitted from ours.

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No. 175.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 9, 8 P.M.)*

(No. 148. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 9, 1880, 6·30 P.M.*

THE Prince of Bulgaria has informed the Austrian Agent that the Eastern Roumelian Government is endeavouring to obtain a loan of 2,500,000 fr. from Bulgaria.

The Prince is not in favour of granting it, but said that he was convinced the Ministers would propose it to the Chamber in a secret sitting and get it voted, notwithstanding his objections, as they did before.

The Austrian Government are convinced that this money is wanted for insurrectionary purposes in Macedonia, and say that, as it is notorious that the Bulgarian Government have no money of their own, the quarter from which it is furnished cannot be doubtful.

The Eastern Roumelian Minister of Finance is at Sophia, or is just going there, to negotiate the arrangement with M. Zancoff.

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* Also to the Earl of Dufferin (No. 632), and to Mr. Macdonell (No. 561).

No. 176.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 9, 9 P.M.)

(No. 149.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 9, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

THE Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople has been authorized to sign the self-denying Protocol, and also the note upon the Asiatic reforms.

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No. 177.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 9, 9 P.M.)

(No. 150.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 9, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

IN addition to those reported in my telegram No. 145, the Austrian Government have informed the French Government that they had agreed to the instructions to the Admiralty proposed by your Lordship, and that they could not now adopt any other.

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No. 178.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 102. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 92 of the 7th instant, reporting that Prince Nicholas has represented to you the expense involved in placing his forces on a war footing, and has expressed the hope that by the 15th instant the combined fleets will be prepared to act, I have to instruct you to inform His Highness that the date when the Admiral in command will be ready to act must be dependent upon the agreement being complete as to the terms of the arrangement demanded from the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 179.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 103. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

I LEARN from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna that the Prince of Montenegro is reported to maintain that he had been misunderstood when he was represented as being indifferent with regard to the possession of Dinosi, or as being willing to abandon his claim to it.

If His Highness should evince a disposition to draw back from the assurances he has given that he will conform himself strictly to the wishes of the Powers, you should warn him that if, in consequence of difficulties raised by His Highness, the concert of the Powers be interrupted, and the proposed settlement fail, he must not look to Her Majesty's Government for any further assistance or support.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 180.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.*

(No. 452. Extender.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

I INFORMED the Russian Ambassador of the instructions which I sent your Excellency in my despatch No. 449 of the 6th instant, the substance of which was transmitted to you by telegraph, directing you to urge the Russian Government to agree to the



Austrian note respecting the Montenegrin frontier, as communicated to you on the 31st ultimo, and to instruct M. de Novikow to join his colleagues in signing the proposed note.

Prince Lobanow has now communicated to me the reply from his Government. It is to the effect that the Prince of Montenegro attaches great importance to the possession of Dinosi, and the Russian Government therefore hesitates to abandon it to the Albanians. Moreover, they do not believe that the Porte will rest content with this concession, or that it will further a settlement of the question. If, however, they are mistaken in entertaining this opinion, and the Austrian proposal is accepted by the other Powers, the Russian Government will also agree to it rather than destroy the European concert by withholding their consent to it.

I have replied to Prince Lobanow, that all the other Powers agree to the Austrian proposal; that the Prince of Montenegro has expressed his willingness to conform himself to their wishes; that the Porte is not in a position to give its consent until the proposal is made to it, and, in the meanwhile, the responsibility of the delay is transferred to the Powers. Such being the case, Her Majesty's Government, I have said, trust that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople will be at once instructed to agree to the proposed note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 181.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(No. 453. Extender.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

AT the request of the Austro-Hungarian Government, Her Majesty's Government have agreed to insert the following words, viz., "then the action of the fleet is to be considered as terminated" in the last paragraph but one of the instructions to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour. The sentence to be inserted will follow the words "cases above-mentioned."

In the draft communicated to Her Majesty's Government by the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires the phrase existed, but through an inadvertence it was omitted from the instructions to Vice-Admiral Seymour.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 182.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 591. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 147 of the 7th instant, reporting that M. de Kállay had drawn your attention to a point of difference between the draft instructions to the naval commanders and those which had been suggested by the Austrian Government, I have to request your Excellency to inform M. de Kállay that the line in question seems to have been omitted by inadvertence, and that, as Her Majesty's Government have stated to all the Powers that they adopted the Austrian modifications, they will cause the phrase to be inserted in their instructions to the English Admiral, and will inform the Russian, German, and Italian Governments accordingly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 183.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 437.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

THE Turkish Chargé d'Affaires called upon me on the 3rd instant and read to me a telegram from his Government, communicating one from Riza Pasha in regard to the

* Also to Lord Odo Russell and Mr. Macdonell.

proposed cession of territory to the east of Lake Scutari under the Dulcigno arrangement.

I informed Musurus Bey that the Ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople were about to present to the Porte a note in reply to its communication of the 18th August with regard to the Montenegrin frontier.

Musurus Bey had left with me, on the following day, a copy of this telegram as a memorandum of his communication, and I inclose a copy for your Excellency's information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 184.

*Sir J. Pauncefote to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1880.

WITH reference to previous Confidential letters, I am directed by Earl Granville to request you to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the Austrian Government have called attention to the omission from the last paragraph but one of the instructions to the Admiral (draft A) of the phrase "then the action of the fleet is to be considered as terminated." As they appear to attach importance to the retention of these words, Her Majesty's Government have agreed to insert them in the instructions, and have informed the Russian and German Governments accordingly.

I am to request you to move their Lordships to inform Admiral Sir B. Seymour by telegraph that they should be inserted next after the words "in either of the cases abovementioned."

I am, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

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No. 185.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 10.)

(No. 835.)
My Lord, *Paris, September* 9, 1880.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 825 of the 7th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of a note and its inclosure which I have to-day received from the French Government for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

The inclosure contains the instructions as finally settled and dispatched to the French Admiral in command of the contingent which left Toulon this morning on its way to Ragusa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 185.

*M. Jauréguiberry to Mr. Adams.*

M. le Ministre, *Paris, le* 8 *Septembre*, 1880.

AINSI que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le faire savoir, le Gouvernement de la République s'était mis en rapport avec les autres Cabinets afin d'arriver à l'adoption d'un texte commun d'instructions pour les Commandants des escadres alliées dans l'Adriatique, sur la base de la dernière rédaction Anglaise amendée par nous en quelques points.

Plusieurs Puissances nous ont répondu, que se trouvant liées déjà envers l'Angleterre elles ne pouvaient, sans son assentiment, accepter nos amendements, et le Gouvernement de la Reine ne leur ayant pas annoncé qu'il y adhérait pour sa part, nous nous sommes vus, à notre vif regret, obligés de renoncer au principe de l'identité d'instructions.

Nous avons dû nous préoccuper dès lors de la rédaction définitive de nos instructions particulières. Nous y avons conservé autant que faire se pouvait les termes mêmes du projet que je vous avais communiqué, afin de rester le plus près possible de la ligne tracée par les autres Gouvernements; mais nous avons dû supprimer tous les passages qui impliquaient une entière communauté de directions.

Je m'empresse de vous adresser ci-joint, pour l'information particulière du Gouvernement de la Reine, une copie du texte définitif qui a été expédié dès hier soir au Contre-Amiral commandant la division navale Française à Toulon.

Cet officier général a l'ordre de prendre la mer aussitôt après la réception de ses instructions et de se rendre directement à Raguse, où il ralliera les escadres des autres Puissances.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) JAURÉGUIBERRY.



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Inclosure 2 in No. 185.

*M. Jauréguiberry to the French Admiral at Toulon.*

M. le Contre-Amiral, *Paris, le* 7 *Septembre*, 1880.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint la copie de plusieurs notes qui ont été échangées à Constantinople entre les Représentants des Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin et la Porte au sujet de la rectification de la frontière du Monténégro.

Vous verrez par cette correspondance et par les autres documents que je crois devoir y joindre, que la Porte se trouve en présence de deux propositions concernant la frontière dont il s'agit: l'une qui tend à obtenir la cession d'un territoire situé à l'intérieur du pays, au nord du Lac de Scutari, et à laquelle le Gouvernement Turc a donné son adhésion dans l'arrangement signé à Constantinople le 18 Avril dernier; l'autre mise en avant le 26 Juin par les Ambassadeurs et recommandant à l'est et à l'ouest du Lac de Scutari une rectification de frontière qui, du côté de la mer, étendrait le territoire du Monténégro jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Boyana en englobant Dulcigno.

Le 3 du mois dernier une communication collective, dont une copie est ci-jointe, fut adressée à la Porte par les Ambassadeurs. Cette note portait que, dans le cas où l'Arrangement d'Avril ne serait pas exécuté dans le délai de trois semaines, les Puissances compteraient que la Porte se joindrait à elles pour aider le Prince de Monténégro à prendre possession du district de Dulcigno, conformément au second projet.

Le 5, la Porte reçut officieusement communication d'un Mémoire indiquant la rectification de frontières projetée à l'est du Lac de Scutari; une copie de cette pièce se trouve également ci-annexée.

La Porte a élevé des objections contre le projet de rectification des frontières à l'est du lac, mais elle a accepté le principe de la cession de Dulcigno et du district indiqué par les Puissances à l'ouest du lac.

Cependant, le délai de trois semaines est expiré le 24 du mois dernier, sans que le district en question ait été livré, et l'objet des opérations navales actuelles est de réaliser les prévisions de la note du 3 Août en aidant le Prince de Monténégro à prendre possession de ce territoire.

Les escadres combinées devront appuyer l'action militaire du Prince de Monténégro pour prendre possession de Dulcigno, mais il n'y aura ni débarquements de troupes ni opérations à terre.

J'estime que, dans les cas ordinaires, les décisions qui devront diriger les forces alliées seront prises par les Commandants-en-chef des divisions de chaque Puissance, et à la majorité des voix. Si un dissentiment persistant se produisait vous en référeriez au Gouvernement qui trancherait la question.

Le Commandement-en-chef des escadres appartiendra à l'officier général le plus élevé en grade et en ancienneté. En cas d'absence temporaire l'officier le plus ancien après lui prendra sa place.

Dès votre arrivée à Raguse, vous aurez à vous mettre en communication avec les Commandants des escadres des autres Puissances, et vous vous concerterez avec eux sur la façon la plus utile de déployer devant Dulcigno les forces navales alliées.

Quand une décision aura été prise à cet égard, le Commandant-en-chef adressera probablement une sommation aux autorités locales de Dulcigno, leur enjoignant de livrer la ville et son territoire au Prince de Monténégro. Si les agents de la Porte déclarent qu'ils y consentent il en sera donné aussitôt avis au Prince de Monténégro qui sera invité à faire avancer ses troupes et à prendre possession de Dulcigno. Si les autorités Ottomanes refusaient et alléguaient qu'elles n'ont pas reçu d'instructions de la Porte, ou bien si, tout en déclarant qu'elles adhèrent en principe à la cession, elles soutenaient que le transfert ne peut pas être mis en pratique par suite de l'opposition de la population Albanaise, dans ce cas, après un délai de trois jours accordé à ces autorités pour leur laisser le temps de recevoir des ordres de la Porte, le Prince de Monténégro devrait être averti le plus tôt possible et invité à prendre possession de Dulcigno par les moyens militaires, l'assurance

lui étant donnée qu'il sera soutenu par la présence de la flotte. Si le Prince de Monténégro ne se conformait pas à l'invitation des Puissances de faire avancer ses troupes dans l'un et l'autre des cas ci-depuis prévus, vous en aviseriez le Gouvernement de la République par le télégraphe et vous attendriez de nouvelles instructions.

Vous tiendrez le Gouvernement de la République par le télégraphe et par vos dépêches au courant de tous les faits qui se produiront et vous enverrez les doubles de vos communications à l'Ambassadeur de la République à Constantinople.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) JAURÉGUIBERRY.

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No. 186.

*M. de Kállay to M. de Hengelmüller.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. de Hengelmüller, September 10.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 9, 1880.*

WE hear from Constantinople:—

"All the Ambassadors save M. de Novikoff, who has again referred to St. Petersburgh, intend to insert into the frontier arrangement with the Porte the following clause:—

"'Les Puissances Signataires veilleront à ce que de la part du Gouvernement de Monténégro ou de ses autorités aucune atteinte ne soit portée à quelque forme ou à quelque titre que ce soit aux droits de propriété des habitants Musulmans et Catholiques possédant des immeubles dans les districts à céder au Monténégro.'"

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No. 187.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 10.)*

(Confidential.)
My Lord, *Admiralty, September 10, 1880.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of Earl Granville, that Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour telegraphs from Gravosa to the following effect:—

"*September 10.*

"'Falcon' will be at Brindisi on Saturday to receive Captain Sale.

"Consul Green telegraphs five battalions Turks and four guns left Scutari to occupy new Montenegrin boundary in the interest of the Prince.

"Four English, four Austrian, three Italian, two Russian, one German ships here; no French."

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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No. 188.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 10.)*

(No. 95.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 9, 1880, 9 P.M.*

THE Montenegrin Government has informed me that should the Turkish Government be really [ ? ] to surrender Dulcigno, it will not permit the advance of its troops unless the invitation [?] is made to it through the Powers. I suggested, therefore, should the Porte decide on the surrender, that the foreign Representatives in Montenegro should be immediately charged to make it known to the Prince.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 189.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 10.)*

(No. 96.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 9, 1880, 9·15 P.M.*

TWO public meetings have been held to-day, and at both it was decided to oppose the peaceable surrender of Dulcigno. This decision was communicated in writing to Riza Pasha, and also telegraphed to the Porte.

A conviction appears to have gained ground that there is nothing to fear from the naval demonstration, and that the Turkish troops will never be employed against the Albanians.

I hear Riza Pasha to-day received a communication from Dulcigno, stating that if it comes to the worst the town will declare itself under Italian protection.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 190.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.**

(No. 511.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 10, 1880, 7·50 P.M.*

AUSTRIAN Chargé d'Affaires informs me that all the Ambassadors, except Russian, are agreed to insert in the arrangement with the Porte respecting Montenegrin frontier a clause to the following effect:—

"The Signatory Powers will take care that the proprietary rights of the Mussulman inhabitants possessing real property in the districts to be ceded to Montenegro shall not be infringed in any form, or on any plea whatever, on the part of Montenegro or its authorities."

We entirely concur, and hope the Russian Ambassador may receive instructions to join his colleagues.

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No. 191.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 10, 9·7 P.M.)*

(No. 163.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 160, M. de Giers has informed M. Jomini that Russia is prepared to sign the self-denying Protocol.

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No. 192.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 10, 8·44 P.M.)*

(No. 164.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 510, M. de Giers informs M. Jomini that the Russian Government is ready to join Her Majesty's Government in urging Prince of Montenegro to occupy Dulcigno.

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* Also to the Earl of Dufferin (No. 637), Mr. Adams (No. 447), Mr. Macdonell (No. 566), Sir H. Elliot (No. 577), and Lord Odo Russell (No. 521).

No. 193.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 10, 8·23 P.M.)*

(No. 165.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 608, M. Jomini tells me that he hears from Livadia that the Emperor accepts the English project of reply to the Porte respecting the Montenegrin frontier with the Austrian alterations, on the understanding, however, that in return for this cession of Dinosi to Turkey, Dulcigno shall be surrendered immediately and pacifically, and that, in the contrary case, Montenegro should resume her claim upon Dinosi.

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No. 194.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 10, 8·13 P.M.)*

(No. 166.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 632.

Please repeat the words which are to be inserted at the request of the Austrian Government.

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No. 195.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 578. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 10, 1880, 9·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 573, the variation, now corrected, was unimportant, as the Commanders were to telegraph to their Governments for instructions, which would not be sent without an interchange of views. The event, moreover, is not likely to arise, as the Prince of Montenegro has declared that he will be ready on the 13th.

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No. 196.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 601. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 10, 1880.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 573 of yesterday, relative to the wording of a phrase in the last paragraph but one of the instructions to the English Admiral in command of the squadron about to take part in the naval demonstration off Dulcigno, I have further to observe that the variation now corrected would not appear to be of such material importance, inasmuch as, under the circumstances referred to, the naval Commanders were directed to telegraph to their Governments for instructions, and these would not have been sent until an interchange of views between the Powers had taken place. Such an event, moreover, is not likely to arise, as the Prince of Montenegro has declared that he will be ready on the 15th for the occupation of Dulcigno, peaceably or otherwise.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 197.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.*[*]

(No. 451.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 10, 1880.*

I AM informed by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires that, with the exception of the Russian Ambassador, all the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople are agreed to insert in the arrangement with the Porte respecting the Montenegrin frontier a clause to the following effect:—

[*] Also to Mr. Goschen, Mr. Adams, Mr. Macdonell, Sir H. Elliot, and Lord Odo Russell.



"The Signatory Powers will take care that the proprietary rights of the Mussulman inhabitants possessing real property in the districts to be ceded to Montenegro shall not be infringed in any form or on any plea whatever on the part of Montenegro or its authorities."

Her Majesty's Government entirely concur in the propriety of inserting such a clause in the Agreement, and they trust that instructions may be sent to M. de Novikow to join his colleagues in adopting it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 198.

*Lord E. Fitzmaurice to Earl Granville.—(Received September 11.)*

(No. 103.)
My Lord, *Buyukdéré, August 31, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of the Compte-rendus No. 13, 14, 15, and 16, recording the proceedings of the Commission up to its adjournment on the 23rd August.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 198.

*Compte-rendu—Séance No. 13, tenue le 9 Août, 1880 (3 Ramazan, 1297), au Lycee Impérial de Galata-Séraï, à Constantinople.*

Présidence de Son Excellence ASSIM PACHA.

Étaient présents:

Pour l'Allemagne—
M. de Braunschweig, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale d'Allemagne à Constantinople.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie—
Le Baron de Kosjek, Conseiller de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à Constantinople.

Pour la France—
M. Aubaret, Consul-Général.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, Membre du Parlement.

Pour l'Italie—
Le Chevalier Vernoni, Premier Drogman de l'Ambassade d'Italie à Constantinople.

Pour la Russie—
M. Hitrovo, Conseiller d'Etat Actuel, Consul-Général.

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Assim Pacha, Vizir, Membre du Sénat.
Abro Effendi, Fonctionnaire de Premier Rang, Première Classe, Conseiller d'Etat.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure.
Le compte-rendu de la précédente séance, lu par M. Séon, est adopté.

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* informe la Commission qu'il a reçu un télégramme de Mr. Green, Consul-Général du Gouvernement Britannique à Scutari d'Albanie, par lequel ce fonctionnaire annonce que la Sublime Porte se propose de changer les divisions administratives de Scutari. En conséquence M. le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne prie ses collègues Ottomans de lui faire connaître ces changements, car la carte qui a été présentée à la Commission n'est nullement suffisante et n'indique aucun des changements sus-mentionnés. "Il importe," dit-il, "à la Commission de savoir comment et dans quelles parties des vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe le projet que nous préposons sera appliqué."

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* déclarent n'avoir aucune connaissance de la nouvelle dont vient de faire mention leur collègue de la Grande Bretagne.

Pour ce qui concerne les divisions administratives de vilayets, ils déposent sur le Bureau un Tableau indiquant ces divisions. (Voir Annexe au présent compte-rendu.)

L'ordre du jour appelle la discussion du Chapitre de la gendarmerie et de la police.

*Le Président* donne lecture de ce Chapitre.

Le 1er Article est accepté à l'unanimité.

Le 2e Article est accepté à la majorité de 6 voix.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* se réservent en ce qui concerne le droit accordé aux Valis de nommer les officers jusqu'au grade d'Adjudant-Major.

L'Article 3 est accepté à l'unanimité.

L'Article 4 amendé est accepté à l'unanimité.

L'Article 5 amendé est accepté à l'unanimité.

L'Article 6 est accepté à la majorité.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* le rejettent parce qu'ils le trouvent superflu et n'ayant aucune portée pratique.

Les Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, et 16 tels qu'ils ont été amendés, sont acceptés à l'unanimité.

L'Article 17 est accepté à la majorité. Les Commissaires Ottomans se réservent.

L'Article 18 est accepté à la majorité. Les Commissaires Ottomans font également leurs réserves.

L'Article 19 amendé est accepté à l'unanimité.

L'Article 20 est accepté à la majorité.

Les Commissaires Ottomans rejettent cet Article parce qu'ils trouvent que les Conseils Généraux ne peuvent pas avoir le droit l'élaborer un règlement général de service pour le corps de la gendarmerie, et de s'ingérer ainsi dans une question militaire.

L'Article 21 est accepté à l'unanimité.

L'Article 22 est accepté à la majorité.

Les Commissaires Ottomans se réservent sur cet Article qui se rattache à des règlements militaires de l'Empire.

Le Chapitre traitant de la gendarmerie et de la police est, dans son ensemble, adopté par six Commissaires dans la forme suivante :

TITRE.

*De la Gendarmerie et de la Police.*

Article 1er. Le service de sûreté publique dans les villes, villages, et campagnes est assuré :

1. Par la gendarmerie ;

2. Par les agents de la police urbaine et de la police rurale.

Art. 2. La gendarmerie et la police sont subordonnées aux Valis et placées sous leur haute direction. Les Valis ont le droit de nomination jusqu'au grade d'Adjudant-Major (" Col Aghassi "). Mais au point de vue de la discipline et de l'instruction militaire, la gendarmerie dépend du Ministre de la Guerre. Elle est entretenue et soldée aux frais du budget du vilayet (Compte A).

Art. 3. Le recrutement de la gendarmerie est fait dans le vilayet parmi tous les habitants en état de servir et sans distinction de race ni de religion, en observant autant que possible la proportion entre Musulmans et non-Musulmans.

La gendarmerie est recrutée par voie d'engagements volontaires. La durée du premier engagement est de deux ans. Il peut être renouvelé d'année en année avec le consentement du Commandant du bataillon.

Art. 4. Les gendarmes touchent, en dehors de la ration réglementaire de pain et celle de fourrage pour les gendarmes montés, une solde qui ne peut être inférieure à 100 piastres par mois. Pendant toute la durée de leur service, les gendarmes non-Musulmans sont exempts de la taxe du Bédélié.

Art. 5. La solde des officiers ne pourra être inférieure à celle des officiers du même grade de l'armée impériale.

Art. 6. Les fonctions d'officiers de tous grades de la gendarmerie peuvent être remplies par des officiers Européens.

Art. 7. La gendarmerie est chargée de dissiper par les voies légales les attroupements séditieux et, d'une manière générale, elle doit assurer le maintien de l'ordre.

Elle doit en outre, en tout cas, obéir aux réquisitions des autorités administratives



dans l'intérêt de la tranquillité publique. Les autorités qui font des réquisitions en sont toujours responsables.

Art. 8. La gendarmerie est également tenue d'obéir aux réquisitions des fonctionnaires de l'ordre judiciaire pour procéder aux enquêtes et aux recherches, et pour opérer les arrestations en vertu de mandats d'amener établis dans les formes légales.

Art. 9. La gendarmerie ne peut être mise à la disposition des agents du service financier chargés d'assurer la rentrée des impôts, que dans des circonstances exceptionnelles et en vertu de réquisitions écrites, établies d'ordre du Vali et sous sa responsabilité.

Art. 10. Les agents de la police urbaine et rurale sont recrutés par les soins des autorités des Cercles Municipaux et des nahiés ; ils sont entretenus et soldés sur la Caisse des municipalités et des communes. Leur nombre est proportionné à l'extension des localités qui les emploient. Ils fournissent un service constant de surveillance et leur action ne s'étend pas hors des limites de la ville ou de la commune où ils sont employés, ils ne peuvent procéder aux arrestations qu'en cas de flagrant délit.

Ces agents sont enrôlés d'après les mêmes principes que les gendarmes.

Art. 11. Chaque vilayet possède une légion de gendarmerie commandé par un Colonel (" Alai-Bey ") ou un Lieutenant-Colonel.

Art. 12. Chaque sandjak possède un bataillon (" mufrézé ") de gendarmerie commandé par un Major (" Binbachi ") ou un Adjudant-Major. Le nombre des bataillons de chaque légion est donc égal à celui des sandjaks du vilayet auquel il appartient. Chaque bataillon (" mufrézé ") portera le nom du sandjak auquel il appartient.

Art. 13. Chaque caza possède une compagnie de gendarmerie commandée par un Capitaine (" Yuz-bachi "), ou par un Lieutenant (" Mulazim Ewel ") ; il y a donc dans chaque bataillon autant de compagnies qu'il y a de cazas dans le sandjak.

Art. 14. Chaque compagnie est divisée en escouades (" brigades ") commandées par un sergent (" tchaouch ") ou par un caporal (" onbachi "). L'escouade se compose de quatre hommes et un caporal à pied ou à cheval selon le besoin.

Art. 15. Le nombre des escouades de chaque compagnie, et leur répartition dans les nahiés sont fixés par le Vali qui informe le Ministère de la Guerre. Ce nombre varie selon l'étendue des cazas et les besoins locaux.

Art. 16. Toutes les fois qu'une compagnie compte plus de huit escouades, elle est divisée en sections, commandées chacune par un Lieutenant (" Mulazim-Ewel ") ou par un Sous-Lieutenant (" Mulazim-Sani "). Le nombre de ces sections est déterminé de façon qu'aucune d'elles ne compte plus de huit escouades.

Art. 17. En dehors des compagnies de gendarmerie de sandjak, il est formé au chef-lieu du vilayet un corps de gendarmerie mobile commandé par un officier du rang de chef de bataillon. Ce corps est plus spécialement chargé du service de la police urbaine du dit chef-lieu ; il est aussi à la disposition du Vali qui le dirige sur les points où les circonstances rendent momentanément nécessaire la présence d'une force auxiliaire.

Art. 18. La gendarmerie mobile comprend un cadre de compagnie d'infantrie et un cadre de demi-escadron.

L'effectif permanent de la compagnie d'infanterie ne pourra être inférieur à cinquante hommes, et celui de l'escadron à trente cavaliers. La gendarmerie mobile est commandée par un capitaine ou officier supérieur. Elle est enrôlée d'après les mêmes principes que la gendarmerie ordinaire.

Art. 19. Les officiers commandant les sections ainsi que ceux commandant les compagnies sont responsables de la sécurité publique dans leur ressort ; ils remplissent respectivement les fonctions de Commissaires et Commissaires Centraux de Police dans le ressort de leur section et de leur compagnie. Ces dernières fonctions sont remplies au chef-lieu des sandjaks par un officier du rang de Col-Aghassi et au chef-lieu de vilayet par un officier du rang de Binbachi. Ces officiers sont immédiatement placés sous la surveillance des Commandants de bataillon et de légion.

Ces officiers, en qualité de Commissaires de Police, exercent un contrôle permanent sur les agents de la police urbaine et rurale qui sont placés de droit sous leur direction.

Art. 20. Jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été établi, en confirmation des dispositions de l'Article 24 de la présente Loi, un règlement général de service pour le corps de la gendarmerie des vilayets, les devoirs des membres de ce corps, ainsi que les détails du service ordinaire et extraordinaire seront déterminés, conformément aux dispositions du présent Titre, par un règlement provisoire émanant du Ministère de la Guerre.

Le fonctionnement administratif et l'organisation intérieure de la gendarmerie (admissions, avancement, discipline, instruction militaire, &c.) sont réglés provisoirement par les Alay-Beys, sauf approbation du Ministère de la Guerre.

Art. 21. Les officiers de la gendarmerie jouissent de tous les honneurs attribués dans l'armée aux officiers de leur grade.

Art. 22. Tout officier, sous-officier, ou gendarme, n'a aucun droit à la pension de retraite, avant qu'il ait achevé quinze ans de service.

Le service passé dans la gendarmerie est considéré sous tous les rapports comme service passé dans l'armée active.

Les Commissaires Ottomans se réservent sur l'ensemble de ce Chapitre.

D'un commun accord les Articles 112, 142, 143, et 144 du Projet de Loi sont supprimés.

Le nouvel Article suivant, proposé par les Commissaires Ottomans et à reporter comme dernier Article au Chapitre des Finances, est adopté à l'unanimité.

"Art. . . . . La monnaie légale du vilayet est la monnaie d'or de l'Empire (la livre Turque à 100 piastres).

"Les autres monnaies Impériales en circulation sont reçues et payées aux Caisses du Gouvernement conformément au Tarif officiel sur la base de la monnaie d'or légale précitée.

*Le Chevalier Vernoni* propose deux Articles Additionnels au Chapitres des Cultes.

Le 1er, qui doit prendre place avant l'Article 335, est ainsi conçu :

"Le changement de religion n'est considéré légal qu'à l'âge de 21 ans."

Le Commissaire d'Italie déclare qu'en proposant cet Article, il a pour but d'aider le Gouvernement Ottoman, dont la tolérance est bien connue, et de le protéger contre les difficultés que pourraient lui créer des agents fanatiques et trop zélés.

Après un échange d'idées l'amendement ci-après proposé par M. Aubaret est accepté par six Commissaires à la place de l'Article proposé par le Chevalier Vernoni.

"Art. . . . . Dans tout changement de religion on observera scrupuleusement les garanties et immunités accordées aux Chefs Spirituels des communautés religieuses ainsi que les formalités prescrites, en tenant compte de l'âge.

Les Commissaires Ottomans rejettent également cet amendement parce qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'ajouter au Projet de Loi une clause nouvelle aussi inutile que tout le Chapitre des Cultes.

Le second Article, proposé par le Commissaire d'Italie à être intercalé après l'Article 341, est conçu dans les termes suivants :

"Art. . . . . Le Gouvernement Impérial élaborera une loi qui reconnaîtra le droit de posséder des propriétés immobilières aux personnes morales telles que établissements religieux, scolaires, ou de charité.

"Cette loi sera édictée sur la base d'une compensation à donner aux Vakouls dans le cas que ces propriétés en dépendent."

Cet Article est accepté à la majorité de 6 voix.

Les Commissaires Ottomans le rejettent parce qu'ils trouvent la question trop complexe et d'une nature très-délicate pour pouvoir être discutée.

*Le Baron de Kosjek* propose l'Article Additionnel suivant :

"Art. . . . . Les concessions, la construction, l'entretien, l'exploitation, et la surveillance des chemins de fer restent soumis aux lois et règlements qui régissent la matière dans l'Empire."

Cet Article est adopté à l'unanimité.

A la place de l'Article 271 qui avait été réservé par les Commissaires Ottomans, l'Article suivant, proposé, par eux, est adopté à l'unanimité :

Art. 271. La présente Loi est applicable aux sandjaks dépendant de la Préfecture de Constantinople et qui demeurent en Turquie d'Europe en dehors de la banlieue de la dite capitale."

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* demande la suppression du mot "reconnu" dans le 3e Article du Projet.

*Abro Effendi* est contre cette suppression, car, dit-il, les communautés légales peuvent seules être reconnues par le Gouvernement Impérial. Des scissions, ajoute le Commissaire de Turquie, peuvent se déclarer dans une communauté, et dans ce cas il appartient exclusivement à la Sublime Porte de trancher le différend qui aurait surgi.

Abro Effendi fait, en outre, remarquer que les communautés reconnues ont des privilèges qui doivent être maintenus et respectés sans les exposer aux infractions des dissidents.

D'un commun accord la phrase suivante est ajoutée à l'Article 3 :

"Toutefois les personnes qui n'appartiennent à aucun culte reconnu pourront pratiquer librement le leur, pourvu qu'il n'ait rien de contraire aux bonnes mœurs et à l'ordre public et elles recevront de l'autorité pour l'exercice de leur culte une égale protection."

*M. Hitrovo* propose de supprimer à l'Article 1er les mots "par la Constitution," la phrase suivante contenant implicitement la Constitution parmi les lois de l'Empire : "par les lois fondamentales de l'Empire ainsi que par la présente loi des vilayets."



Six Commissaires acceptent cet amendement.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* protestent contre cet amendement, en déclarant que la Commission n'a pas le mandat de statuer sur une charte de l'Empire.

A l'Article 55 Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice propose la suppression au 1er alinéa des mots "en outre des matières indiquées dans les lois et règlements du Ministère de la Justice."

*Abro Effendi* s'oppose tout d'abord à cette suppression. Vu l'importance des attributions du Directeur de la Justice, dit-il, des restrictions ne devraient pas y être apportées.

La Commission ayant déclaré que la suppression des mots "en outre des matières indiquées dans les lois et règlements du Ministère de la Justice," ne peut nullement infirmer ces lois et règlements, le Commissaire Ottoman, sur cette déclaration, consent à cette suppression.

Les deux alinéas ci-dessous, proposés par le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne pour être ajoutés à l'Article 24, sont adoptés par six Commissaires :

"Les lois sur la distribution de logements aux troupes de passage;

"Les lois sur la chasse."

Les Commissaires Ottomans se réservent.

*Le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne* propose d'ajouter au Chapitre de la Justice un nouvel Article adjoignant au Juge de Paix deux Assesseurs élus par les Conseils des nahiés et dont l'un serait Musulman, l'autre non-Musulman.

Cet amendement est adopté par six Commissaires et la rédaction en est confiée à la Sous-Commission.

Les Commissaires Ottomans se réservent.

Le Président, avec l'assentiment de la Commission, fixe la prochaine séance au 14 Août.

La séance est levée à 5 heures.

(Signé) ASSIM.
ABRO.
v. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.
HITROVO.

Certifié conforme à l'original :
(Signé) SÉON.
C. CARTWRIGHT.
GRITZENKO.
M. RÉCHID.

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Annexe.

*Tableau indiquant les Noms des Cazas et des Livas des Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe.*

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*Vilayet d'Andrinople.*

LE Sandjak d'Andrinople comprend :—
Les Cazas d'Ouzoun Koupru, Djisr Moustapha Pâcha, Havsa.
Le Sandjak de Gumuldjiné :—
Le Caza de Dari Déré.
„ de Pachmakli, autrement dit Akli-Tchélébi.
„ de Eskidjé ou Yenidjé Karasou.
„ de Kouch-Kavak ou Sultanyéri.
Le Sandjak de Rodosto :—
Le Caza de Khaïrébolou.
„ d'Eregli.
„ de Tchorlou.
Le Sandjak de Démotika :—
Le Caza de Dédé-Agadj.
„ de Sofoulu.
„ d'Orta-keuï.
Le Sandjak de Gallipoli :—
Le Caza de Malgara.
„ de Kéchan.
„ d'Enos.
„ de Charkeuï.
Le Sandjak de Kirk-kilissé :—
Le Caza de Tirnovo.
„ de Vizé.
„ de Lulé Bourgâsi.
„ d'Akhtapolou.
„ de Midia.
„ de Baba Eski.

*Vilayet de Janina.*

Le Sandjak de Janina :—
Le Caza de Paramythia (Aïdonât).
„ de Kalarytet (Kilât).
„ de Konitza.
„ de Kastoria (Kesrié).
„ de Métzovo.
Le Sandjak d'Argyrokastro ou Erguiri :—
Le Caza de Prémédi.
„ de Boghoun.
„ de Tépédélen.
„ de Delvino.
„ de Hadjaré.

Le Sandjak de Berat :—
Le Caza d'Avlona.
„ de Skrapari.
„ de Timouridjé.
Le Sandjak de Preveza :—
Le Caza de Margaritz.
„ de Narda.
Le Sandjak de Trikala :—
Le Caza de Trikala.
„ de Vôlo.
„ d'Armyro.
„ d'Élassona.
„ de Phersala (Tchataldja).
„ de Carditza.

*Vilayet de Salonique.*

Le Sandjak de Salonique :—
Le Caza de Kara-féria.
„ de Vodina.
„ de Kassandra.
„ de Kouprulu.
„ d'Avrat-Hissar.
„ de Stroumnitza.
„ de Yenidjé Vardar.
„ de Doïran.
„ de Tikvech.

Le Sandjak de Sérêz (Sirôz) :—
Le Caza de Nevrékob.
„ de Siguel.
„ de Melnik (Menlik).
„ de Demir Hissar.
„ de Petrich.
„ de Djoumâ.
Le Sandjak de Drâma :—
Le Caza de Kavala.
„ de Sarychaban.

*Vilayet de Monastir (Bitolia).*

Le Sandjak de Monastir :—
Le Caza de Prilip.
„ d'Okhrida.
„ de Kozané.
„ de Kritchovo.
„ de Florind.
„ de Djoumâ.
„ de Serfidjé.
Le Sandjak de Krouchévo :—
Le Caza de Kastoria (Kesrié).
„ de Nasilitz.
„ de Staria.
„ de Kolonia.

Le Sandjak de Prisrend (Priyrin) :—
Le Caza de Kalkandélen.
„ de Yakova.
„ de Louma.
Le Sandjak de Dibré :—
Le Caza d'Elbassan.
„ de Dibre'zir.
„ de Mati.
Le Sandjak de Scutari :—
Le Caza de Trianna.
„ de Kavaïa.
„ de Gruda (Rougova).
„ de Mirditi.
„ de Dulcigno.
„ d'Akdja-hissar (Kroya).
„ de Leeh (Alassio).
„ de Yuka.

*Vilayet de Kossovo.*

Le Sandjak de Prichtina :—
Le Caza de Pirchova.
„ d'Ipek.
„ de Gulan.
„ de Voulchitern.
Le Sandjak de Yéni-bazar (Novi-bazar) :—
Le Caza de Yéni-bazar.
„ de Mitrovitza.
„ d'Akova (Biélopié).
„ de Brana.
„ de Yéni Varoch.
„ de Fergouchna.
„ de Priépoli.

Le Sandjak d'Uskub :—
Le Caza d'Ichtib.
„ de Katchanik (Kotchana).
„ de Palanka.
„ de Kounanova.
„ de Radouchté.
„ de Kuratova.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 198.

*Compte-Rendu.—Séance No. 14, tenue le $\frac{3}{15}$ Août, 1880 (8 Ramazan, (1297), au Lycée Impérial de Galata-Séraï, à Constantinople.*

Présidence de son Excellence Assim Pacha.

Étaient présents :

Pour l'Allemagne—
M. de Braunschweig, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale d'Allemagne à Constantinople.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie—
Le Baron de Kosjek, Conseiller de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à Constantinople.

Pour la France—
M. Aubaret, Consul-Général.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, Membre du Parlement.

Pour l'Italie—
Le Chevalier Vernoni, Premier Drogman de l'Ambassade d'Italie à Constantinople.

Pour la Russie—
M. Hitrovo, Conseiller d'Etat Actuel, Consul-Général.

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Assim Pacha, Vizir, Membre du Sénat.
Abro Effendi, Fonctionnaire de Premier Rang, Première Classe, Conseiller d'Etat.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure.

Le compte-rendu de la précédente séance, lu par M. Séon, est adopté.

*Abro Effendi* présente l'amendement ci-après à l'Article Additionnel proposé à la dernière séance par le Commissaire d'Autriche-Hongrie :—

"Article .—Les concessions, la construction, l'entretien, l'exploitation, et la surveillance des chemins de fer sont réservés au Gouvernement Impérial et restent soumis aux lois et règlements qui régissent la matière dans l'Empire.

*Le Chevalier Vernoni* trouvant que l'amendement proposé par Abro Effendi altère le sens de cet Article tel qu'il a été adopté à la dernière séance, conseille de le rejeter.

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* et *M. Hitrovo* s'associent à l'idée exprimé par le Commissaire d'Italie.

*Le Baron de Kosjek* pense au contraire que la proposition du Commissaire Ottoman ne change en rien l'esprit de l'Article que la Commission a déjà adopté. Ce n'est, dit-il, qu'une simple question de rédaction. Toutefois, vu l'interprétation qui lui donnent quelques-uns de ses collègues, il demande l'adoption de l'amendement d'Abro Effendi, en déclarant nettement que les questions de chemins de fer n'entrent nullement dans les attributions d'une autorité provinciale quelconque.

*Le Président* met aux voix l'amendement proposé par Abro Effendi.

Les Commissaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, et de Turquie adoptent.

Les Commissaires de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie votent contre.

L'amendement du Commissaire Ottoman est donc adopté à la majorité des voix.

*M. Aubaret* donne lecture du discours ci-après :—

"Messieurs,

"La Sous-Commission que vous avez désignée pour revoir et corriger le texte du Projet, voté par vous, a l'honneur de vous présenter le résultat de son travail. Le Projet a été relu par elle avec la plus grande attention, puis minutieusement révisé, Article par Article. Outre les fautes de style et de rédaction, il y avait, dans quelques parties du Projet, une confusion que la Sous-Commission s'est attachée à faire disparaître. Ainsi, le Titre relatif aux élections a dû être remanié afin d'en rendre le mécanisme clair et précis ; il a fallu également fixer quelques dates autant pour se mettre d'accord avec l'esprit du Projet que pour rendre les élections elles-mêmes plus praticables.

"Les contradictions et les répétitions ont été l'objet d'une surveillance attentive.

"Quelques Articles ont dû changer de place pour venir prendre rang là où les appelait naturellement l'enchaînement logique des idées. Enfin, les titres et les sous-titres ont été classés avec méthode.

"La Sous-Commission a pensé que le système à la fois le plus clair et le plus pratique était de placer sous vos yeux une série d'épreuves du Projet, tel qu'il est sorti de ses mains.

"Il suffira de comparer ces épreuves avec le texte du Projet amendé pour se rendre compte, en peu d'instants, des corrections et des modifications nouvelles. Il est, d'ailleurs, bien entendu que ces modifications ne touchent en aucun point le fond d'aucun Article et qu'elles n'ont pas eu d'autre but que de coordonner entre elles les dispositions de cette loi, afin d'en rendre la lecture plus claire et l'étude plus aisée."

La Commission vote à l'unanimité des remercîments à la Sous-Commission.

*Le Commissaire de France* annonce que son collègue d'Autriche-Hongrie et lui, présenteront à la Commission, dans sa prochaîne séance, un mémorandum sur le Sandjak de Scutari.

*Le Président*, avec l'assentiment de la Commission, met à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine séance, fixée au 17 Août, la seconde lecture du Projet de Loi.

La séance est levée à 3 heures et demie.

(Signé) ASSIM.
ABRO.
v. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.
HITROVO.

Certifié conforme à l'orignal :
(Signé) Séon.
C. Cartwright.
Gritzenko.
M. Réchid.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 198.

*Compte-Rendu.—Séance No. 15, tenue le 5e Août*, 1880 (11 *Ramazan*, 1297), *au Lycée Impérial de Galata-Séraï, à Constantinople.*

Présidence de son Excellence Assim Pacha.

Étaient présents :

Pour l'Allemagne—
M. de Braunschweig, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale d'Allemagne à Constantinople.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie—
Le Baron de Kosjek, Conseiller de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à Constantinople.

Pour la France—
M. Aubaret, Consul-Général.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, Membre du Parlement.

Pour l'Italie—
Le Chevalier Vernoni, Premier Drogman de l'Ambassade d'Italie à Constantinople.

Pour la Russie—
M. Hitrovo, Conseiller d'Etat Actuel, Consul-Général.

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Assim Pacha, Vizir, Membre du Sénat.
Abro Effendi, Fonctionnaire de Premier Rang, Première Classe, Conseiller d'Etat.

La séance est ouverte à 1 heure.
Le compte-rendu de la précédente séance, lu par M. Séon, est adopté.



*M. Hitrovo* donne lecture d'une déclaration (voir annexe au présent compte-rendu) renfermant son opinion sur l'organisation judiciaire.

*M. Aubaret* informe la Commission que devant prochainement quitter Constantinople pour cause de santé, il serait remplacé par M. le Comte de Montholon, Premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de France, si, après la signature du Projet de Loi, la Commission tenait d'autres séances.

L'ordre du jour appelle la seconde lecture du Projet de Loi.

*Son Excellence Assim Pacha* déclare maintenir les Articles 274 à 449 du Projet présenté par la Sublime Porte, qui ont été rejetés par six Commissaires. Son Excellence ajoute que les matières contenues dans ces Articles ne sont pas entièrement de la compétence du Conseil Général.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* déclarent en outre, dans le Projet adopté par les six Commissaires :

Rejeter les Articles 1, 3, 26, 51, 82, 83, 99, 275 à 286, 293 et 324 ;

Accepter les Articles 2, 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 28 à 33, 36 à 42, 44, 45, 46 à 50, 52 à 58, 60 à 64, 66, 67, 69 à 71, 73 à 77, 79, 80, 86, 89, 90, 92 à 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105 à 107, 109 à 114, 116 à 131, 133 à 137, 139 à 145, 147 à 153, 156 à 161, 163 à 180, 182 à 184, 186 à 193, 195 à 198, 200 à 207, 209 à 214, 264 à 271, 273, 274, 287 à 290, 292, 294 à 300, 311 à 320, 323, 325 et 327 ;

Faire leurs réserves sur les Articles 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 27, 34, 35, 43, 59, 65, 68, 72, 78, 81, 84, 85, 87, 88, 91, 104, 108, 115, 132, 138, 146, 154, 155, 162, 181, 185, 194, 198, 199, 208, 215 à 263, 262, 291, 310, 321, 322 et 326.

De plus, les Commissaires Ottomans maintiennent les Articles suivants du Projet de Loi présenté par la Sublime Porte :

1, 10, 24, 38, 67, 71, 81, 82, 84, 87, 89, 95, 122, 153, 159, 170, 192, 201, 206, 207, 216, 229 à 234, 243.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* proposent d'ajouter au Titre 18 du nouveau Projet l'Article 122 de celui présenté par la Sublime Porte et qui a été réservé par la Commission.

*Le Président* met au vote cette proposition.

Six Commissaires s'abstiennent.

Les Commissaires de Turquie le maintiennent.

La proposition des Commissaires Ottomans est donc rejetée.

Après avoir procédé à la seconde lecture du Projet de Loi des Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, tous les Commissaires votent l'ensemble du dit Projet.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans*, tout en acceptant l'ensemble du Projet, constatent qu'ils maintiennent toutes leurs réserves telles qu'elles sont détaillées dans leur déclaration ci-dessus énoncée.

*Le Baron Kosjek et M. Aubaret* remettent aux Commissaires un mémorandum sur le Sandjak de Scutari.

*Le Président*, avec l'assentiment de la Commission, met à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine séance, fixée au 23 Août :

1. La signature du Projet de Loi ;
2. La discussion sur l'application de ce Projet.

La Séance est levée à 5 heures.

(Signé) ASSIM.
ABRO.
v. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.
HITROVO.

Certifié conforme à l'original :
(Signé) Séon.
C. Cartwright.
Gritzenko.
M. Réchid.

Annexe.

*Declaration lue par M. Hitrovo.*

Comme à la séance du 4 Août j'avais fait la proposition d'ajourner la discussion du Titre relatif à l'organisation de la justice dans les provinces comme ma proposition n'a pas été acceptée, je me suis vu forcé de m'abstenir de la discussion de ce Titre. Aujourd'hui je tiens à préciser les motifs qui m'ont fait agir ainsi, mes objections contre le projet voté, et mon propre point de vue sur la matière.

L'organisation de la justice m'a toujours paru être une question extrêmement grave et bien autrement importante que les questions d'organisation administrative. Tout règlement sur ces dernières, pour peu que l'expérience en prouve l'imperfection, peut être révoqué à tout moment. Il n'en est pas de même de l'organisation judiciaire. Cette organisation c'est, pour ainsi dire, la forme dans laquelle il s'agit de verser l'exercice de la justice, forme dans laquelle ce grand moyen de civilisation des masses est appelé à croître et à se développer. Pour peu que cette forme ne lui soit pas entièrement convenable, cette croissance et ce développement peuvent recevoir une direction fausse et dangereuse. Et, alors, pour apporter les corrections nécessaires, il ne suffit plus de révoquer une loi et de la remplacer par une autre,—il s'agit de déraciner des mœurs et des coutumes. Aussi dans tous les pays du monde, l'organisation judiciaire a-t-elle été toujours le résultat d'un développement historique, plutôt qu'une implantation forcée. De nos jours surtout, même dans les sphères de la science, le droit coutumier tend-il de plus à se libérer des formes routinières du droit scientifique.

Voilà les considérations qui, n'abordant un sujet aussi délicat, aussi complexe et aussi spécial que l'organisation de la justice, m'inspiraient une extrême répugnance à procéder avec une précipitation qui me semblait exagérée.

Dans nos réunions préparatoires, nous avons discuté les deux Projets, fondus en un seul, élaborés par MM. les Délégués de la Grande Bretagne et de France. Je l'ai déjà dit et je le répète, j'ai trouvé dans ces Projets des vues larges et libérales et un travail consciencieux, qui méritaient toute l'attention de la Commission. Seulement, il me semblait que la discussion du principe même de l'organisation de la justice était loin d'avoir été épuisée. Il me semblait que le Projet avait besoin d'être encore longuement discuté au point de vue de son application à un milieu déterminé et de sa concordance avec les Codes Ottomans. Ce n'est pas une discussion sur les détails, Article par Article, que je désirais provoquer. J'étais désireux d'entendre une argumentation plus complète sur la préférence à accorder à tels principes généraux, plutôt qu'à tels autres, comme base de l'organisation judiciaire. C'est surtout la question de la Justice de Paix qui attirait mon attention. C'est une création nouvelle. Il importait de savoir si les principes sur lesquels est basée la création de la Justice de Paix, d'après le Projet que nous avions sous les yeux, sont d'accord avec ceux qui ont servi de base à l'élaboration des Codes Ottomans. En un mot, j'étais désireux d'être plus amplement renseigné sur la nouvelle législation Ottomane au sujet de l'organisation judiciaire, législation qui m'était totalement inconnue avant de me prononcer sur le projet soumis à notre appréciation.

C'est sur ces entrefaites que nous reçûmes la proposition de la Sublime Porte de nous mettre au courant de son propre point de vue sur la matière et de nous fournir les informations nécessaires par l'organe de M. l'Adjoint du Ministre de la Justice.

J'ai applaudi à cette proposition. J'y entrevoyais une source précieuse d'informations et de lumière. Seulement il me semblait qu'après avoir entendu son Excellence Vahan Effendi, une nouvelle réunion préparatoire nous serait nécessaire pour discuter le Projet d'organisation judiciaire au point de vue des nouvelles informations que nous allions recevoir. C'est dans ce sens que j'ai eu l'honneur de lire devant la Commission une déclaration par écrit qui est annexée au compte-rendu de notre douzième séance.

Mes prévisions sur l'importance des explications qui pourraient nous être fournies par M. l'Adjoint du Ministre de la Justice ne m'ont pas trompé.

Après avoir entendu son Excellence Vahan Effendi, tout le Projet d'organisation judiciaire s'est présenté à mon appréciation sous un jour nouveau. Les explications qu'il nous a fournies ont fait justice entre autres d'un malentendu fort important qui s'était glissé dans nos premières appréciations par suite d'une définition inexacte de la valeur d'une expression Turque. Il s'est trouvé que les nouveaux Codes Ottomans par l'expression . . . . . ont admis le principe de la Justice de Paix et nullement celui du Juge de Paix. En outre, son Excellence Vahan Effendi nous explique qu'en admettant le principe de la Justice de Paix les Codes Ottomans en investissaient dans une mesure très-restreinte les Conseils des Anciens dans les villages avec appel contre leurs décisions par devant le Conseil du nahié.



Quand M. l'Adjoint du Ministre de la Justice se fut retiré, je fis quelques observations sur la base des explications que je venais d'entendre. Mes observations ont été prises en considération et quelques modifications ont été aussitôt introduites dans le Projet discuté.

Néanmoins, je n'ai pas cru possible d'accepter aussitôt la discussion définitive sur le Projet d'organisation de la justice, et j'ai demandé un ajournement.

Je vais indiquer maintenant quelles sont mes objections contre le Projet qui nous était soumis.

Je constate d'abord qu'il ressort des explications fournies par M. l'Adjoint du Ministre de la Justice qu'en ce qui concerne l'organisation de la justice des Tribunaux, il n'existe pas de contradictions essentielles entre le Projet qui nous a été soumis et les principes qui ont servi de base aux Codes Ottomans. En conséquence, je n'ai pas d'objection à accepter en partie du moins les Articles de 4 à 27 du Projet, qui se rapportent à cette matière, sauf quelques détails.

Il n'en est pas de même des Articles 1, 2, et 3 du Projet qui visent l'organisation de la Justice de Paix. Sur cette matière, après avoir entendu les explications de son Excellence Vahan Effendi, j'arrive à la conclusion que le principe qui a servi de base à la nouvelle législation Ottomane est plus libéral et plus pratique.

En effet, il m'a toujours semblé que la Justice de Paix devait être élective et je trouve ce principe consacré dans les Codes Ottomans.

Je me demande aussi où l'on trouvera en Turquie un nombre suffisant de magistrats, civilisés et intègres qui consentiraient à s'enterrer dans quelque petite bourgade perdue pour y exercer les fonctions de Juge de Paix nommé avec une rétribution de 120 livres par an. Je me demande d'un autre côté si sans surfaire les charges du pays on trouvera les moyens nécessaires pour suffire à cette dépense.

Je prie aussi mes honorables collègues de ne pas oublier que nous nous trouvons dans un pays où les différences de race et de religion constitueront encore pour longtemps dans la vie sociale un élément avec lequel il faut compter. La condition essentielle d'une bonne Justice de Paix consiste dans la confiance qu'elle est capable d'inspirer au public. Or, je ne crois pas qu'un Juge de Paix Chrétien puisse inspirer de sitôt de la confiance aux populations Musulmanes, ni qu'un Chrétien soit bien sûr de trouver des garanties de justice et d'impartialité auprès d'un Juge de Paix Musulman. Autre chose est un Tribunal qui juge avec un certain prestige. Mais quand il s'agit d'un simple Juge de Paix, je ne crois pas qu'on parvienne à persuader à un homme du peuple Musulman que ce Juge de nouvelle fabrication puisse être préférable à son Cadi qui est Juge de par la loi du Prophète. Je me demande en outre, comment ce Juge de Paix qu'on veut créer fonctionnera, par exemple, en Albanie, comment il s'y prendra pour décider un différend entre deux Beys qui attendront sa sentence, chacun à la tête d'une tribu sous les armes. Pour peu qu'on connaisse ce pays on n'a pas besoin d'aller jusqu'en Albanie pour se voir obligé à admettre que ce Juge de Paix, même dans d'autres province, sera exposé à trouver une balle ou un coup de poignard au bout de chacune de ses sentences.

On m'objectera que l'institution du Juge de Paix a été introduite dans la législation Crétoise, et qu'en Crète elle fonctionne déjà d'une façon satisfaisante. Mais la Crète se trouve dans d'autres conditions. Là n'existe pas cette énorme confusion de races, de religion, et de langues qu'on trouve par exemple en Macédoine et qui constitue partout en Turquie d'Europe une cause permanente de désordres et de souffrances. En Crète la population, quoique appartenant à deux religions différentes, est en grande majorité de la même origine et parle la même langue. Tous les mouvements qui se sont succédé en Crète provenaient de causes plutôt politiques que religieuses et sociales.

Voilà les principales objections qui se présentent à mon esprit contre la création forcée du Juge de Paix. D'un autre côté, le principe que je trouve au fond du Projet Ottoman, et qui consiste à investir de la Justice de Paix les Conseils des Anciens, me paraît comme je l'ai dit, plus libéral, plus pratique, et plus conforme aux mœurs du pays.

Effectivement, cette justice du Conseil des Anciens fonctionne partout en Turquie *ab antiquo*. Elle ne serait donc pas une innovation ; il s'agirait seulement de la régulariser et d'en définir la compétence. Cette justice est applicable aussi bien dans les districts Chrétiens et mixtes de la Macédoine et de la Thrace que parmi les tribus semi-indépendantes de l'Albanie.

En conséquence, je recommande à la Commission, dont j'ai l'honneur de faire partie, l'adoption du principe existant déjà en pratique et admis par la Législation Ottomane de la Justice de Paix exercée par les Conseils des Anciens et le Conseil du nahié. Toutefois, en recommandant ce principe, je ne prétends pas du tout que le Projet contenu dans les Codes Ottomans soit admis tel quel. Au contraire, la Commission pourrait l'amender

en définissant la compétence de cette justice conformément aux besoins de la cause tout en maintenant au lieu du Juge nommé et rétribué le principe de la Justice de Paix réservée aux Conseils des Anciens et à ceux des nahiés qui, tous les deux, sont électifs.

A ce sujet, je me permettrai de rappeler à mes honorables collègues que dans l'Article 181, déjà voté par eux, la Justice de Paix, du moins celle en conciliation, a déjà été dévolue aux Conseils des Anciens. Il y est dit que ces Conseils ont la mission, entre autre, de régler et arranger à l'amiable les différends ou querelles survenus entre les individus de la communauté, &c.

Je dois ajouter que si l'organisation de la Justice de Paix, telle que je la recommande, était admise, il faudrait, nécessairement, introduire quelques modifications en conséquence à ceux de ces Articles qui se rapportent à l'organisation de la justice des Tribunaux. Ainsi, l'alinéa (*a*) de l'Article 23 sur la compétence du Tribunal du liva devrait être supprimé.

La Justice de Paix s'exerçant sur d'autres principes que la justice des Tribunaux, elle devrait être complètement séparée de cette dernière. Abstraction faite de cette considération générale le Tribunal de Première Instance aurait tout à gagner à être libéré des jugements en appel contre les Tribunaux de Justice de Paix. Ce Tribunal de Première Instance, siégeant dans le chef-lieu d'un liva, comprendra un arrondissement judiciaire d'une étendue très-considérable et, par conséquent, il aura une activité très-grande dans l'exercice de ses attributions directes de jugement en premier et en dernier ressort; si on l'érige, en outre, comme l'entend le Projet, en Tribunal d'appel contre les Tribunaux de Justice de Paix, il sera encombré d'affaires et ne pourra jamais suffire à cette besogne.

Je ne proposerai pas d'Articles définitivement élaborés pour remplacer ceux du Projet contre lesquels je soulève des objections. Je me borne à indiquer les principes généraux, que je trouve dans la législation Ottomane, et que je voudrais conserver pour servir de base à l'organisation de la Justice de Paix. Cette Justice de Paix réservé aux Conseils des Anciens et aux Conseils de Nahié constitue une Justice de Paix collective, non rétribuée et complètement séparée et indépendante de la Justice des Tribunaux. Elle me paraît préférable à la création nouvelle du Juge de Paix et plus conforme au caractère du pays. Les principes généraux qui lui servent de base et que je viens d'indiquer sont susceptibles de tout le développement que la Commission pourrait vouloir leur donner.

Je demande que ma présente déclaration, contenant mon opinion particulière sur le Projet d'organisation de la justice dans les provinces, soit annexée au compte-rendu de la séance d'aujourd'hui.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 398.

*Compte-rendu.—Séance No.* 16, *tenue le* $\frac{11}{23}$ *Août,* 1880 (16 *Ramazan,* 1297), *au Lycée Impérial de Galata-Séraï, à Constantinople.*

LES Commissaires chargés par les Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin de donner leur avis sur le projet de réformes à introduire dans les provinces de la Turquie d'Europe, pour lesquelles une organisation spéciale n'a pas été prévue par le dit acte, ayant terminé la révision du Projet qui leur a été présenté par la Sublime Porte, en vertu de l'Article XXIII du susdit Traité, se sont réunis le 23 Août, 1880, à midi, au Lycée Impérial de Galata-Séraï.

Présidence de son Excellence Assim Pacha.

Étaient présents:

Pour l'Allemagne—
M. de Braunschweig, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale d'Allemagne à Constantinople.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie—
Le Baron de Kosjek, Conseiller de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à Constantinople.

Pour la France—
M. Aubaret, Consul-Général.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, Membre du Parlement.

Pour l'Italie—
Le Chevalier Vernoni, Premier Drogman de l'Ambassade d'Italie à Constantinople.

Pour la Russie—
M. Hitrovo, Conseiller d'Etat Actuel, Consul-Général.

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Assim Pacha, Vizir, Membre du Sénat.
Abro Effendi, Fonctionnaire de Premier Rang, Première Classe, Conseiller d'Etat.

LE compte-rendu de la quinzième séance, lu par M. Séon, est adopté.

Les Commissaires ayant voté l'ensemble du Projet de Loi dans la précédente séance, signent et revêtent du sceau de leurs armes les sept exemplaires authentiques de ce Projet.

*Les Commissaires Ottomans* tiennent à constater qu'en signant le Projet de Loi avec leurs collègues, ils n'infirment nullement le rejet de certains Articles, ni les réserves qu'ils ont faites sur certains autres, ni enfin le maintien d'autres Articles du Projet présenté par la Sublime Porte, tels que les dits Articles sont cités sous leurs numéros respectifs dans la déclaration qu'ils ont faite à la dernière séance.

*M. Aubaret* donne lecture d'une déclaration faite au nom des Commissaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie et de Russie contenant les appréciations sommaires des Commissaires sur l'ensemble du Projet, ainsi que sur l'application en général de la nouvelle loi. (Voir Annexe No. 1 au présent compte-rendu.)

Relativement à cette application son Excellence Assim Pacha dit que la Commission est incompétente sur la question de la convention entre l'Autriche-Hongrie et la Turquie concernant Novi-Bazar. Quant aux Iles de l'Archipel Ottoman, ajoute son Excellence Assim Pacha, celles-ci font plutôt partie de la Turquie d'Asie, sauf quelques petits ilots qui sont à proximité des provinces Européennes de la Turquie.

*M. Aubaret* donne lecture d'une deuxième déclaration signée par les Commissaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, et d'Italie, laquelle précède le mémorandum sur le Sandjak de Scutari déjà déposé à la précédente séance par les Commissaires d'Autriche-Hongrie et de France. (Voir Annexe No. 1 au présent compte-rendu.)

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* donne lecture, en son nom et en celui de son collègue de Russie, d'une déclaration séparée. (Voir Annexe No. 3.)

*M. Hitrovo* présente une série d'objections contre l'application des mesures proposées dans le mémorandum signé par MM. de Kosjek et Aubaret. Il en signale le danger.

Il termine en déclarant qu'il a pris le susdit mémorandum *ad referendum*, qu'il l'a communiqué à son Gouvernement et qu'il ne se considère pas en droit de s'associer à la déclaration relative au dit mémorandum avant d'avoir reçu des instructions spéciales au sujet de cette question qui, présentée sous cette forme, ne rentre pas exactement, à son avis, dans le cadre du mandat de la Commission. En conséquence, sans préjuger la

question de son adhésion ou de sa non-adhésion à la déclaration susdite, M. Hitrovo se réserve de communiquer ultérieurement au Président de la Commission les instructions qu'il pourra recevoir de son Gouvernement.

*Le Commissaire de Russie* remet une Déclaration, ci-jointe Annexée (No. 4) où sont consignées ses observations et objections sur le susdit mémorandum.

*Le Baron de Kosjek* dit qu'il a recommandé le mémorandum sur le Sandjak de Scutari à la Sublime Porte en sa qualité de Commissaire d'Autriche-Hongrie. Il pense, en outre, que la Commission est compétente dans la question sus-mentionnée et que les chiffres indiqués dans le mémorandum sont exacts.

*Son Excellence Assim Pacha* déclare que les Commissaires Ottomans ne sont pas autorisés à se prononcer sur cette matière.

*Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice* dit que, sans doute, il y de la force dans l'argument de son honorable collègue de Russie. La Commission aurait pu attendre à plus tard pour aborder la question Albanaise, mais comme la Commission va seulement s'ajourner, elle pourra avoir encore occasion d'entrer en matière à ce sujet, si cela est nécessaire. Les Commissaires que ont signé la Déclaration dont il est question, sont seulement entrés en détail sur la question en tant qu'elle leur était connue, c'est-à dire sur la question de la Haute-Albanie, ou Sandjak de Scutari. Ils n'ont parlé que d'une façon générale sur le reste de ce pays, qui ne leur était connu que d'une façon incomplète. Quand ils auront des renseignements plus exacts ils pourront entrer également en détail sur le reste du pays. La raison principale pour laquelle j'ai, dit-il, signé la Déclaration comme Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne, c'est le désir que les Albanais sachent, avant que la Commission suspende ses séances, que les Puissances sont animées du même intérêt pour eux que pour les autres populations de la Turquie d'Europe, et que le sort des pays Albanais ne leur est nullement indifférent. En résumé, le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne affirme que les propositions, sur la Haute Albanie, sont justes et utiles et fourniront la base d'autres réformes. Il a, pourtant, cru devoir faire ses réserves sur les points de détail mentionnés dans sa Déclaration séparée.

*Le Baron de Kosjek, M. Aubaret,* et *le Chevalier Vernoni* se rallient à la partie du discours de Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice relative aux marques d'intérêt données aux populations Albanaises.

*Le Commissaire de Russie* se rallie non-seulement à cette partie du discours de Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice, mais aussi à l'esprit de ce même discours dans tout son ensemble parce qu'il le considère comme entrant tout-à-fait dans ses idées.

*Le Chevalier Vernoni* dit qu'il n'a rien à ajouter à la Déclaration qu'il a signée.

*Son Excellence Assim Pasha* expose que l'Albanie n'a jamais formé un vilayet, et que le Sandjak de Scutari a toujours dépendu du Vilayét de Monastir.

La Commission n'a pour mandat, ajoute son Excellence, que de donner son avis sur un Projet comprenant l'ensemble des populations sans aucune distinction.

La discussion est close.

*Le Président* constate que l'ordre du jour est épuisé.

La Commission décide en conséquence qu'elle suspende ses travaux.

*Le Commissaire d'Autriche-Hongrie* propose de voter des remercîements au Président, pour le tact et l'impartialité avec lesquels il a dirigé ses travaux.

Ces remercîements sont votés à l'unanimité.

*Son Excellence Assim Pacha* remercie ses collègues pour l'esprit de conciliation et de bon vouloir qu'ils ont apportés dans le cours des travaux de la Commission.

Des remercîements sont unanimement votés au Bureau.

Après une interruption d'une heure, M. Séon soumet à la Commission le compte-rendu de la seizième séance rédigé par lui. Ce compte-rendu est adopté.

La séance est levée à 5 heures.

(Signé) ASSIM.
ABRO.
v. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.
HITROVO.

Certifié conforme à l'original :—
(Signé) SÉON.
C. CARTWRIGHT.
CRITZLNKO.
M. RÉCHID.

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Annexe No. 1 au Compte-rendu de la Seizième Séance.

*Déclaration Collective.*

A Constantinople, le Lundi, 23 Août, 1880, et pendant la seizième séance :

En apposant leur signature au Projet de Règlement révisé par eux, les Commissaires soussignés croient devoir constater que le susdit Règlement a été mis en discussion et voté bien que la Sublime Porte ne se soit pas strictement conformée à l'Article XXIII du Traité de Berlin, car, au lieu de nommer des Commissions Spéciales, comme il y est dit, c'est la Sublime Porte, elle-même, qui a élaboré un Projet de Règlement, qu'elle a plus tard soumis à des Commissions Spéciales pour que, par elles, le susdit Projet fût amendé.

Mais les Commissaires Ottomans ayant expliqué que leur Gouvernement avait agi de la sorte pour venir en aide aux Commissions Spéciales et leur faciliter ainsi une tâche qui eût été au-dessus de leurs moyens, les Soussignés ont accepté la discussion ainsi que la révision du Règlement et des amendements des dites Commissions qui l'accompagnaient.

A ce Règlement ont été apportées telles modifications et additions qui ont paru nécessaires pour accorder aux provinces de la Turquie d'Europe, dans une large mesure, le bienfait d'une décentralisation administrative sans toutefois ébranler en rien l'autorité et l'unité de l'Empire Ottoman.

Le nouveau Règlement débute par assurer à tous les habitants sans distinction, les droits primordiaux qui doivent régner et être respectés dans toute société. La liberté individuelle et la liberté de conscience en sont la principale base. On s'est particulièrement attaché dans ces Articles fondamentaux à ramener parmi les populations si cruellement éprouvées de l'Empire la paix et la sécurité personnelle.

Passant ensuite au Chef de l'Administration, le Vali, on a rendu plus stable la situation de ce haut fonctionnaire et tout en affermissant son autorité, on lui a tracé les devoirs de sa charge, afin qu'étant connus de tous, ils ne puissent plus être transgressés.

Après le Vali, venaient naturellement les fonctionnaires qui forment son Conseil de chaque jour, et de qui dépendent les branches principales de l'Administration.

Une règle nouvelle et tutélaire a été introduite au sujet du Mustéchar, véritable Lieutenant du Vali ; il a été dit que ces deux fonctionnaires n'appartiendront pas à la même religion. Loin de voir en cela une marque de défiance, il faut y chercher une preuve du large esprit de tolérance et de conciliation dont se sont constamment inspirés les Soussignés.

Cette règle a été suivie jusqu'aux Chefs des cazas, les Caïmacams.

Après avoir tracé les devoirs de chacun des principaux fonctionnaires de la province, le Règlement passe à l'important Chapitre des Conseils Généraux, de leur composition, et de leurs attributions. C'est ici surtout que se développent les larges libertés seules capables de donner aux provinces un nouvel essort en les appelant à la vie administrative. Mais les Soussignés, désireux de maintenir un juste et sage équilibre entre les provinces et le Pouvoir Central, n'ont point accepté la Commission Permanente dont il est question au Projet Ottoman. Ils ont pensé que, loin de laisser s'établir un antagonisme entre les deux Pouvoirs, il convenait de les rapprocher, afin qu'une mutuelle confiance présidât à la marche journalière du Gouvernement. C'est pourquoi, rejetant la Commission Permanente qui émanait directement du seul Conseil Général, ils l'ont fondu dans le Conseil d'Administration appelé à la remplacer.

Le Chapitre des Finances a été l'objet du soin le plus attentif. Il fallait éviter deux écueils : ou l'absorption des revenus par l'Etat, ou son appauvrissement au seul avantage de la province. Les ressources de celle-ci ont, dans une sage mesure, été distribuées en deux parts. Celle qui revient à l'Etat est naturellement prépondérante, mais en revanche l'Etat assure la marche régulière de l'Administration Provinciale, et outre cette assurance, il la dote suffisamment pour lui permettre d'avancer dans la voie de la civilisation. Enfin les garanties données à la province pour la gestion de ses finances constituent pour elle la plus précieuse des libertés.

Les subdivisions administratives font suite à ce Chapitre. Les anciennes dénominations si connues des populations de l'Empire, ont été conservées, et leurs Chefs, les Mutessarifs et Caïmacams, trouveront, dans les plus petits détails, les règles de conduite qui doivent les diriger.

Les Conseils d'Administration des livas et des cazas, calqués sur celui du chef-lieu de la province, aideront à répandre partout l'esprit de bonne administration et de confiance, dont la recherche a toujours inspiré les Soussignés.

Les Communautés jouent un grand rôle dans la vie de l'Orient ; l'esprit religieux qui les anime en fait des êtres moraux dont l'influence est considérable. Elles ne pouvaient être oubliées dans le Règlement, aussi y occupent-elles un Chapitre spécial.

Il en est de même des Cercles Municipaux. Dans quelques villes de la Turquie on leur doit de notables améliorations; il est à désirer que cette institution se propage.

La commune (nahié) est à la fois la base géographique, juridique, et administrative de la province. On a précieusement conservé, en l'élargissant, cet esprit local des communes qui donne tant de cohésion et de stabilité à l'Empire. Le droit des majorités a été non-seulement respecté, mais notablement agrandi. C'est ici une œuvre de pacification et c'est pourquoi les Soussignés y ont apporté tous leurs soins.

De la commune descendant au village, le Règlement consacre l'antique institution du Conseil des Anciens et donne les indications nécessaires pour le rattacher à celui de la commune et de là à l'Administration Générale.

Le principe électif étant la base du Gouvernement nouveau, il fallait s'assurer d'un système électoral où la simplicité trouvât de sérieuses garanties. C'est ce qui a été fait dans le Chapitre relatif aux élections. On y trace leur mécanisme, leur date précise, tous les détails enfin capables d'aider des populations nouvellement appelées à la vie publique.

L'organisation des Tribunaux* et leur fonctionnement a été l'objet de nombreuses discussions. Les Soussignés se sont arrêtés au système qui leur a paru le plus simple et le plus apte à assurer aux populations le bienfait si désirable d'une justice prompte et impartiale. Le principe nouveau des Justices de Paix abrégera bien des causes, et les instances, jadis si nombreuses, s'en trouveront diminuées.

Les Chapitres qui traitent de l'instruction publique et des cultes viennent ensuite et ils sont suivis des dispositions particulièrement relatives aux fonctionnaires, à leur choix, comme aux règles spéciales qui régissent leurs manquements.

Il convenait enfin de clore cet ensemble en lui donnant l'assurance qu'il fonctionnerait dans un milieu paisible. Or, en un pays tourmenté comme l'a été la Turquie d'Europe, rien n'était plus nécessaire que de créer une force publique, respectable et capable d'assurer à chacun sa propre sécurité; ce besoin de premier ordre sera satisfait par l'institution de la gendarmerie et de la police, qui termine le Règlement et surtout par la bonne application de cette mesure.

Tel est l'ensemble des dispositions du nouveau Règlement. Les Soussignés ont dû se préoccuper de son application dans les provinces auxquelles il est destiné. Et d'abord se présentait la question de savoir s'il est réellement applicable à toutes les parties de la Turquie d'Europe. Les Soussignés ont reconnu d'un commun accord que certaines parties de l'Albanie ne pouvaient être soumises à la règle commune.

Quant au reste de la Turquie d'Europe les Soussignés considèrent que la ville de Constantinople et sa banlieue sont seules placées en dehors de l'application administrative du nouveau Règlement, mais ils insistent pour que les droits primordiaux qui font l'objet du Titre 1er soient entièrement accordés et assurés aux habitants de la capitale et de sa banlieue.

Les Soussignés sont d'avis que le Règlement nouveau peut être également introduit dans le Sandjak de Novi-Bazar. Il s'entend toutefois que les droits politiques et militaires acquis par le Gouvernement d'Autriche-Hongrie, en conformité du Traité de Berlin et de la Convention conclue le 21 Avril, 1879, entre l'Autriche-Hongrie et le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, restent intégralement maintenus, ainsi que les arrangements survenus entre les autorités des deux Gouvernements ayant pour objet le service de la sécurité publique à la frontière entre les Sandjaks de Novi-Bazar et la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine.

Les Soussignés considérant enfin que le vilayet des Iles de l'Archipel ("Djézaïri-Bahri Séfid") Etat par sa situation géographique placé à la fois en Europe et en Asie, sont d'avis que le nouveau Règlement devrait être appliqué à tout son ensemble.

Les districts auxquels le présent Règlement s'appliquera devront être réunis en vilayets ou en Mutessarifliks indépendants. Le susdit Règlement devant en outre établir dans chacun de ces Gouvernements une administration organisée et un Conseil Général représentatif avec des pouvoirs étendus et un système régulier pour la perception des revenus et pour la comptabilité, les Soussignés sont d'avis que la Sublime Porte devrait poser leurs limites sur une base solide et permanente ayant regard seulement aux besoins de l'Administration et d'éviter ainsi les changements devenus si fréquents dans ces derniers temps.

Une grande responsabilité, d'après le nouveau Règlement, retombera sur les Valis et Mutessarifs auxquels on a accordé une puissante initiative. Il est donc de la plus grande importance que ces hauts fonctionnaires soient choisis parmi ceux qui seront les plus

* Nota.—Relativement aux droits et immunités dont jouissent les Etrangers dans l'Empire, il demeure entendu que parmi ces droits est maintenu celui en vertu duquel sont admis des Assesseurs étrangers au Tribunal du liva, compétent au lieu et place du Tribunal de Commerce Mixte, dans toute cause commerciale ou civile entre sujets étrangers et sujets Ottomans.



disposés à assurer la réussite du système d'Administration qu'ils seront appelés à diriger.

Les bonnes lois n'ont jamais manqué dans l'Empire Ottoman, mais c'est leur exécution qui presque toujours a fait défaut.

Avant de suspendre leurs travaux, les Soussignés se permettent de recommander leur œuvre à la protection des Hautes Puissances qu'ils ont eu l'honneur de représenter, et ils espèrent qu'il en ressortira un résultat heureux pour les populations des provinces comme pour la sécurité et la paix de l'Empire Ottoman.

C'est là le but de leurs efforts.

Fait à Constantinople les mois, jour, et an que dessus.

(Signé) V. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.
HITROVO.

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Annexe No. 2 au Compte-rendu de la Seizième Séance.

*Déclaration faite par MM. les Commissaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, et d'Italie.*

A Constantinople, le Lundi, 23 Août, 1880, et pendant la seizième séance,

Les Soussignés déclarent que:

En ce qui concerne les pays Albanais, ils acceptent le mémorandum ci-joint, sur le Sandjak de Scutari, présenté par MM. le Baron des Kosjek et Aubaret, et ils en recommandent les dispositions à la Sublime Porte.

Les Soussignés désirent aussi que le Gouvernement Impérial, en introduisant le nouveau Règlement dans les autres pays de l'Albanie, tienne compte également des immunités dont les districts montagneux, en dehors du Sandjak de Scutari, seraient *ab antiquo* en possession et notamment des immunités de la Chimara.

Si, en outre, la Sublime Porte trouvait opportun de réunir les pays Albanais en un seul vilayet, les Soussignés n'y verraient aucune objection.

Fait à Constantinople, les jours, mois, et an que dessus.

(Signé) V. BRAUNSCHWEIG.
KOSJEK.
AUBARET.
ED. FITZMAURICE.
VERNONI.

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*Mémorandum sur le Sandjak de Scutari (Albanie), présenté à la Commission Européenne par MM. le Baron de Kosjek, Délégué d'Autriche-Hongrie, et Aubaret, Délégué de France.*

Les principales tribus ou bannières (baïraks) dont se compose le Sandjak de Scutari sont:—

*Au Nord du Scutari.*

1. Les Hotti, Klementi, Gruda, Kastrati, et Skreli, autrement appelés les cinq grandes montagnes. Leur population s'élève à environ 20,000 âmes, dont 18,000 Catholiques et 2,000 Musulmans.

On peut y joindre les baïraks moins importants de Rioli, Retchi, Lohia, et Koplikou, dont la population totale de 3,000 âmes est moitié Catholique et moitié Musulmane.

*Au Nord-est de Scutari.*

2. Le district montagneux de Pulati contenant les baïraks de Sciala et Scioci, ceux de Nikaï* et Merturi, de Giovagni, de Kiri, de Planti, de Toplana, et de Duschmani. On compte là environ 13,500 Catholiques et pas de Musulmans.

* Nota.—Nikal et Merturi dépendent du Caza de Djakova, mais comme ils relèvent du Diocese de Pulati, ils ne peuvent pas être séparés du territoire commun.

*A l'Est de Scutari.*

3. La Posripa comprenant Drischti (Drivasto), les baïraks de Boyschi, Sumá, Schláku, et Temal. On y compte 2,500 Catholiques et 1,800 Musulmans.

*A l'Est de Scutari.*

4. La Dukajina (Puka) qui est formée par les baïraks de Kabaschi, Budjoni, Beretti, Puka, Halia, Malisi, et Berischia. Ce district a une population d'environ 24,250 âmes, dont 18,000 Catholiques et 6,250 Musulmans.

*Au Sud-est de Scutari.*

5. La Mirditie (Mirdita) comprenant les baïraks d'Orosch, de Dibri, de Fanti, de Kuschneni, et de Spatchi. Il y a là 20,000 Catholiques et pas de Musulmans.

*Au Sud de Scutari.*

6. Les tribus montagnardes d'Alessio comprenant les baïraks de Lesh, de Bulgari, de Veglia, et de Kriesesi, qui, sur une population de 5,500 âmes, comptent 5,200 Catholiques et 300 Musulmans seulement.

*Au Sud de Scutari.*

7. Enfin, le district de Mathia, formé par les baïraks de Ketelia, de Selita, et de Luria,* et dont la population est de 2,500 Catholiques avec un millier de Musulmans.

*Plaines.*

Tel est le pays montagneux de la Province de Scutari. Il occupe à peu près tout le territoire du Sandjak, auquel il ne reste, en fait de plaines, depuis l'occupation de Podgoritza par le Monténégro, que la fertile Zadrima, séparée de Scutari par le Drin et les vastes landes qui entourent immédiatement cette ville.

*Population.—Caractère National.*

On a vu que la population de la montagne, qui s'élève au chiffre total de 92,000 âmes environ, se divise en 80,000 Catholiques et 12,000 Musulmans. Tous vivent, cependant, dans le plus parfait accord et ne demandent nullement à être séparés. Ils sont Albanais avant tout et, s'il est vrai de dire que les Catholiques sont extrêmement attachés à leur religion, il l'est tout autant d'affirmer que chez eux, comme chez leurs frères Musulmans, le sentiment de la nationalité, l'attachement au sol de la patrie et à ses anciennes coutumes, sont aisément poussés jusqu'à l'exaltation. L'esprit de fierté et d'indépendance, commun à tous les Albanais, est soutenu chez eux par des qualités guerrières très-prononcées. C'est grâce à leur indomptable énergie que, malgré les fréquentes tentatives de la Sublime Porte, ces montagnards sont parvenus à conserver, à peu près intacts, les privilèges dont ils jouissent *ab antiquo*.

*Privilèges.*

Ces privilèges sont à peu de choses près semblables dans les différentes bannières. Ils consistent principalement :—

En l'exemption des impôts fonciers et de la dîme pour tous les terrains de montagne. En l'application du droit coutumier, tant au civil qu'au criminel. En l'administration locale d'après les us et coutumes. En ce que les montagnards, non-soumis à la conscription, sont simplement tenus de fournir, en cas de guerre, des contingents irréguliers.

*Mirdites.*

Les Mirdites joignent à ces franchises le droit spécial d'être gouvernés par un des leurs, Chef héréditaire dans sa famille. Ce Chef est reconnu par la Sublime Porte.

Ces privilèges ont eu des défenseurs au Congrès de Berlin, comme en fait foi le Protocole 13. Il est vrai qu'il n'y a été question que des Mirdites. Mais, sauf l'immunité accordée à leur Chef, les Mirdites sont dans la même situation que leurs compatriotes des montagnes.

L'expérience a souvent prouvé qu'il n'était ni bon ni prudent de toucher à ces privilèges. En ce moment, moins que jamais, on ne devrait tenter de les abolir. Le plus sûr

* Nota.—Luria relève de Dibra, mais faisant partie de l'Archevêché de Durazzo, il trouve sa place dans le Sandjak de Scutari.



moyen d'arriver à une pacification graduelle du pays est, au contraire, de les respecter, tout en ne tirant le meilleur parti possible. C'est ce que l'on s'est attaché à faire en présentant le Projet suivant que l'on a mis, autant qu'on a pu, en accord avec les réformes récemment élaborées pour les autres vilayets, immédiatement placés sous l'autorité de la Sublime Porte.

*Projet.*

Le Projet dont il va être question est exclusivement applicable aux pays de montagne, c'est-à-dire, aux différentes bannières ("baïraks") dont la nomenclature a été donnée au commencement de ce travail. Il va sans dire que les plaines seront, comme par le passé, assujetties à la loi commune, et que leurs villages continueront d'être groupés en nahiés et ceux-ci en un ou plusieurs cazas selon leur importance.

*Sandjak de Scutari.*

Article 1er. Le Sandjak de Scutari aura pour Gouverneur un Pacha Militaire, qui remplira, à la fois, les fonctions de Gouverneur Civil et de Commandant-en-chef des forces militaires du Sandjak.

*Sous-Gouverneur de la Montagne (Bach-Captan).*

Art. 2. Un Sous-Gouverneur des Montagnes (Bach-Captan) sera également nommé par Iradé Impériat, et placé immédiatement sous les ordres du Gouverneur de Scutari. Le Bach-Captan devra appartenir à l'une des principales familles Catholiques des montagnes. Avant de procéder à sa nomination, on réunira les baïraktars des montagnes afin d'entendre leurs vœux. Les baïraktars présenteront trois noms au choix de la Sublime Porte qui agréera l'un des candidats.

Art. 3. Le Bach-Captan aura rang de Pacha; il lui sera alloué des appointements convenables; il sera nommé pour cinq ans.

Art. 4. Les devoirs principaux du Bach-Captan sont : d'être le délégué du Gouverneur du sandjak auprès des baïraks de la montagne, de leur transmettre ses ordres, de surveiller la tranquillité publique dont il est responsable, d'assurer le fonctionnement de l'Administration Locale, conformément aux us et coutumes, de faire exécuter par le moyen de ses intermédiaires les sentences, tant au civil qu'au criminel, de prescrire, en temps de guerre, la levée des contingents.

*Conseil d'Administration.*

Art. 5. Un Conseil d'Administration sera placé auprès du Bach-Captan qui en aura la présidence. Ce Conseil, destiné à modérer et à éclairer le Bach-Captan, sera composé de douze membres, dont quatre Musulmans. Tous ces membres seront élus comme il sera indiqué plus loin.

Art. 6. Les membres du Conseil d'Administration seront rétribués, ou tout au moins indemnisés de leur déplacement. Ils sont élus pour deux ans seulement, mais peuvent être réélus indéfiniment. Chaque année ils sont renouvelables par moitié.

*Division en Quatre Districts.*

Art 7. Les montagnes sont divisées en quatre districts ou cercles principaux, qui sont :

1. Les cinq grandes montagnes au nord de Scutari, comprenant en outre les baïraks de Rioli, Retchi, Lohia, et Koplikou. Le chef-lieu de ce district est à Tusi;
2. Le district de Pulati, chef-lieu Scida;
3. Le district de Posrippa et Dukajina, chef-lieu Puka;
4. Le district de Mirdite, comprenant en outre les bannières d'Alassio et de Mathia, chef-lieu Orosch. Il est bien entendu que dans ce district les privilèges spéciaux aux Mirdites seront respectés, c'est-à-dire que le Chef de ces montagnes sera pris dans la famille qui occupe héréditairement cette situation.

*Buluk-Bachis.*

Art. 8. Un Captan ou Buluk-Bachi est placé à la tête de chaque district. Ces Buluk-Bachis relèvent immédiatement du Bach-Captan. Ils sont nommés par le Gouverneur du Sandjak qui les choisit sur une liste renfermant neuf noms, et dressée par le Conseil d'Administration Central. Conformément à ce qui a été dit plus haut, le Captan du district Mirdite ne sera pas soumis à l'élection. Les Buluk-Bachis reçoivent de la Sublime Porte un traitement convenable. Ils sont responsables de la sécurité publique

dans leur district. Ils surveillent l'Administration Locale et transmettent les ordres et instructions du Bach-Captan.

*Conseil des Anciens.*

Art. 9. Les Conseils des Anciens sont la base de l'administration dans la montagne. Ils continueront de jouir des mêmes privilèges, et l'administration des villages leur appartiendra comme par le passé. Ils sont chargés de la police locale et connaissent des causes minimes selon le droit coutumier.

*Assemblée des Tribus.*

Art. 10. Les Conseils des Anciens se réunissent selon les besoins locaux en assemblée dite de tribu ou de baïrak. Cette assemblée élit chaque année son Baïraktar qui représente la tribu toute entière auprès du Buluk-Bachi. Cette assemblée connaît, selon le droit coutumier, des causes qui dépassent la compétence des Conseils des Anciens.

*Assemblée des Montagnes.*

Art. 11. Les assemblées des tribus élisent chacune deux délégués qui sont membres de la grande assemblée des montagnes. Cette dernière se réunit une fois par an, sous la présidence du Bach-Captan, pour discuter les affaires communes à toutes les montagnes. Avant de se séparer, elle choisit parmi ses membres douze personnes qui composent, comme il a été dit à l'Article 5, le Conseil d'Administration du Bach-Captan.

Ce Conseil une fois constitué, l'assemblée n'aura plus à élire chaque année que les membres renouvelables.

*Assemblée de District.*

Art. 12. Les Baïraktars de chaque tribu se réunissent également une fois par an ou plus souvent, si cela est nécessaire, pour discuter entre eux les affaires locales de chaque district. Cette assemblée de district est présidée de droit par le Buluk-Bachi ; elle résout les questions qui n'ont pu l'être par les assemblées de tribus ; elle lève les gens de police pour toute l'étendue du district ; elle connaît des causes qu'auraient réservées les assemblées de tribus.

*Taxes et Amendes.*

Art. 13. Le Code des montagnes appliquant, dans la grande majorité des cas, la peine de l'amende, le produit de ces amendes sera centralisé à chaque district, pour être remis au Conseil d'Administration du Bach-Captan, lequel en aura la garde. Ces amendes seront, selon l'usage, divisées en deux parts, l'une pour le Gouvernement et l'autre pour la Caisse des montagnes. Celle-ci, confiée à la garde du Conseil d'Administration, servira à l'entretien des écoles, églises, mosquées, &c.

Les taxes volontairement consenties par les différentes tribus, et dont la quotité sera décidée par l'Assemblée Générale, seront également réunies à la résidence du Bach-Captan, pour être versées à la Caisse commune. Avec elles, il sera subvenu aux frais généraux de l'Administration, et tout particulièrement, à l'entretien des agents de la police. Il est désormais interdit aux Buluk-Bachis de s'approprier une partie quelconque des amendes qu'ils perçoivent.

Tel est, en substance, le Projet soumis à la considération de la Sublime Porte. Elle ne peut qu'y gagner en l'acceptant, car, mieux que personne, elle sait combien son autorité est précaire parmi les montagnards Albanais. Le présent Projet donne au Gouvernement Impérial de sérieuses garanties, puisque la nomination des Chefs de la montagne demeure entre ses mains. Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas, pour le moment, d'autre moyen pour lui de s'attacher des populations qui ne lui resteront fidèles qu'à la condition de jouir de leur séculaire demi-indépendance.

Enfin, il ne faut perdre de vue que notre intention n'a point été de créer de nouveaux privilèges, mais uniquement de respecter ceux que le temps a déjà consacrés, parce qu'il nous paraît démontré qu'en dehors du respect de ces antiques coutumes, il n'y a à attendre qu'anarchie et confusion.

(Signé) Baron KOSJEK.
G. AUBARET.

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Annexe No. 3 au Compte-rendu de la Seizième Séance.

*Déclaration de MM. Hitrovo et Lord Ed. Fitzmaurice.*

Les Soussignés, vu le mémorandum présenté par MM. le Baron de Kosjek et Aubaret, font leurs réserves sur les chiffres indiquant la proportion de la population par religion ; car selon eux les renseignements exacts font défaut. En conséquence ils font aussi leurs réserves sur l'Article où il est dit que le Bach-Captan devra nécessairement être Catholique Romain et pensent que les vœux des populations devraient être préalablement entendus sur cette question.

Les Soussignés font aussi leurs réserves sur tous les territoires qui pourraient être en litige et faire l'objet de négociations entre les Représentants de Puissances et le Gouvernement Ottoman par suite du Traité de Berlin.

(Signé) HITROVO.
E. FITZMAURICE.

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Annexe No. 4 au Compte-rendu No. 16.

*Discours prononcé par M. Hitrovo.*

Mon honorable collègue de la Grande Bretagne vient de lire une Déclaration, signée par lui et par moi, contenant certaines réserves que nous avons jugé nécessaire de formuler en commun par rapport à quelques-unes des dispositions contenues dans le mémorandum sur le Sandjak de Scutari, présenté à la dernière séance par MM. les Délégués d'Autriche-Hongrie et de France.

Aujourd'hui ce même mémorandum, légèrement modifié, vient de nous être présenté de nouveau, cette fois accompagné d'une Déclaration signé par cinq Commissaires. Pour ma part, ayant pris le susdit mémorandum *ad referendum*, et l'ayant communiqué, par la poste, à mon Gouvernement, il m'a été impossible de m'associer à mes collègues ou de leur refuser de mon assentiment, avant d'avoir reçu les instructions spéciales que j'attends sur ce sujet.

Néanmoins, vu que nos travaux vont être suspendus et que le mémorandum accompagné de la Déclaration des cinq Commissaires va être communiqué à la Sublime Porte, je tiens à énoncer dès aujourd'hui mon opinion particulière et personnelle sur ce projet d'une organisation administrative privilégiée, proposée pour les montagnes du Sandjak de Scutari.

D'abord je tiens à préciser l'objet et le caractère de la discussion.

Je ne suppose pas que MM. Aubaret et le Baron de Kosjek fassent la proposition de ce mémorandum au nom de leurs Gouvernements. Si tel était le vœu précis de ces Gouvernements, l'objet du mémorandum devenant une question purement diplomatique, je pense que ce n'est pas la Commission, dont j'ai l'honneur de faire partie, qui en eût été saisie et je n'aurais pas eu à m'en occuper. Je considère donc ce projet comme l'expression de l'opinion personnelle de deux membres de la Commission sur une question d'organisation administrative particulière à appliquer à une localité déterminée. C'est à ce point de vue que j'ai l'intention d'examiner ce Projet de son côté purement administratif.

Il me semble que dans la question ardue qui nous intéresse, l'application des réformes à l'Albanie, en prenant pour point de départ le mémorandum que nous avons sous les yeux, nous abordons la question, pour ainsi dire, à rebours, pour la traiter, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, à rebrousse-poil.

En effet, sur quoi sommes nous d'accord ? Nous sommes d'accord—et nous sommes unanimes à le reconnaître—que le Projet de réformes de la Sublime Porte que nous avons examiné, n'est pas applicable dans son entier à certaines, je dirai même, à la majeure partie de l'Albanie. De là la déduction la plus naturelle à tirer c'est que nous devrions chercher à amender notre Projet, tout en conservant les principes généraux qui lui servent de base, de façon à le rendre applicable à l'ensemble des pays Albanais. Alors seulement nous pourrions juger s'il y a lieu de faire quelque exception en faveur d'une localité quelconque, soit pour cause d'immunités dont cette localité se trouverait être en possession légale *ab antiquo*, soit en vue de quelques particularités trop saillants de mœurs, d'usages et de coutumes. L'homogénéité dans le système administratif me semble être une considération dont on ne devrait pas méconnaître l'importance. Ce principe, d'ailleurs, a été plus d'une fois invoqué dans le cours de nos travaux par les auteurs même du présent Projet.

Eh bien, au lieu de cette voie toute naturelle que je viens d'indiquer, on nous propose de doter d'un système administratif privilégié et exceptionnel une seule province qui se trouve sur les confins des pays qui nous occupent et de chercher plus tard à étendre ce système administratif, adapté aux particularités de cette unique province, au reste de l'Albanie. Je ne pense pas que ce mode de procéder par expériences *in anima vili* soit le plus pratique.

En outre, je me demande si cette organisation administrative particulière dont les détails sont développés dans le mémorandum, est véritablement celle qui convient le mieux, même aux localités auxquelles on nous propose de l'appliquer.

Pour juger cette question, il faudrait être amplement renseigné sur l'exactitude des données qui servent de base aux particularités du Projet d'organisation administrative contenu dans le mémorandum. Je sais combien sont difficiles les recherches des données statistiques, quand il s'agit de pays tels que ceux qui font l'objet de notre discussion actuelle. Dès à présent j'aurais pu relever des inexactitudes considérables sur les chiffres qui forment la première moitié du mémorandum en question. Pourtant je craindrais de le faire car, à mon tour, il me serait difficile de me porter garant de l'authenticité absolue des données que j'avancerais, et surtout de prouver cette authenticité, quelque soin que j'eusse pris de ne puiser mes informations qu'à des sources dignes de foi. Je veux dire seulement que cette question exige de laborieuses recherches préalables sur les lieux, recherches qui font totalement défaut. Or, en voulant créer d'emblée une organisation administrative détaillée sur la base de données dont on ne peut pas être sûr, on risque de tomber dans des errements dangereux, et d'atteindre des résultats diamétralement opposés à ceux qu'on poursuit.

Je me demande maintenant quelles peuvent être les raisons administratives en vue desquelles on voudrait doter d'une administration particulière et privilégiée ce pays désigné dans le mémorandum sous le nom des "grandes montagnes de Scutari?"

Est-ce en vertu des immunités dont jouissent ces localités *ab antiquo?* Autant que je sais, la Mirditie seule, qui ne constitue qu'une faible portion des pays dont il s'agit, se trouve en possession d'un semblant d'immunités particulières qui lui ont été accordées par le Gouvernement Ottoman, et qui se trouvent mentionnées dans les actes internationaux. Quel droit et quelle raison pourrait donc avoir la Commission Européenne, instituée en vertu de l'Article XXIII du Traité de Berlin, d'étendre ces immunités de la Mirditie à d'autres localités?

Le fait est qu'à l'exception de la Mirditie proprement dite, toutes ces autres localités mentionnées dans le mémorandum ne sont en possession d'aucun privilège reconnu. Si les populations qui les habitent jouissent en réalité d'une certaine indépendance, si elles ne payent pas d'impôt, si elles ne sont pas soumises à la conscription, si elles se gouvernent en pratique elles-mêmes par des Chefs élus sur les bases d'anciens us et coutumes,—tout cela se pratique, non pas en vertu de privilèges accordés et reconnus, mais simplement parce que le Gouvernement Ottoman n'est jamais parvenu à soumettre ces populations à la loi commune. Cela ne constitue pas un droit, cela représente des libertés et des franchises qu'on n'est jamais parvenu à détruire.

Je ne conteste pas le danger qu'il y aurait à toucher à ces vieilles coutumes, à ces usages plusieurs fois séculaires qui sont devenus une espèce de constitution historique. Je ne veux pas prétendre qu'on ne doive pas tenir compte de cet état de choses. Seulement je me demande alors pourquoi devrait-on, en consacrant ces libertés et ces franchises des montagnards, priver de ces privilèges les habitants de la plaine appartenant à la même race, parlant la même langue, vivant sur les mêmes traditions historiques? Je n'aperçois pas cette différence essentielle qu'on veut établir entre la montagne et la plaine. Et s'il y a quelques différences, il me semble que le but d'une bonne législation devrait consister à tâcher de les effacer, et non pas de les éterniser en les consacrant et en les développant artificiellement. Dans ce siècle où on a tant percé et aplani des montagnes, je me demande quelles raisons pourrait-on avoir d'en vouloir créer d'artificielles?

D'ailleurs il ne faudrait pas oublier non plus, qu'ici il ne s'agit pas d'une montagne, comme, par exemple, le Liban. En Albanie il s'agit de beaucoup de montagnes, séparées les unes des autres par des pays de plaines. Je me demande donc quel serait l'aspect administratif de ce vaste pays dont toutes les montagnes se trouveraient placées sous un régime et toutes les plaines sous un autre. Je me demande comment pourrait fonctionner le mécanisme gouvernemental dans ce pays dont toutes les montagnes seraient gouvernées par un Bach-Captan élu, et toutes les plaines par un Gouverneur nommé. Il faut bien l'avouer qu'un tel état de choses créerait nécessairement une singulière confusion dans tout le système social.

Abstraction faite des réserves que j'ai formulées sur les chiffres statistiques, contenus dans le mémorandum, je dois attirer l'attention de mes collègues sur une méprise très-



importante qui m'a frappé en étudiant ce document. Le mémorandum propose un Projet d'organisation administrative particulière exclusivement pour le Sandjak de Scutari. Or, j'y vois figurer, entre autres, les trois seuls villages Catholiques du vaste pays de Math, lequel se compose de trente-sept villages formant cinq baïraks et appartenant tout entier au Sandjak de Dibra.

Si je fais cette observation, ce n'est pas pour dire que le pays de Math devrait être privé d'une organisation particulière, si on en donne une au pays de Scodra. Au contraire, je trouve encore bien d'autres pays en dehors du Sandjak de Scutari, qui se trouvent dans des conditions parfaitement identiques. Tels sont, en plus du pays de Math déjà mentionné et dont l'organisation sociale ne diffère en rien de celle de toutes les populations mentionnées dans le mémorandum, la Malissia Dibranaise comprenant à elle seule neuf montagnes pour le moins aussi grandes que celles de Scutari et neuf baïraks des plus considérables; la Malissia d'Elbassa ou le Tchermenlik comprenant deux baïraks, ceux de Pulin et de Seharli; la Spadaria d'Elbassan; la Malissia de Tirau, la Chimara et bien d'autres. Je n'aperçois pas la différence qu'on pourrait faire entre toutes ces tribus Albanaises guerrières et demi-indépendantes et les habitants du Sandjak de Scutari, et si on en faisait, je ne sais pas si cette différence ne serait pas au désavantage de ces derniers.

En supposant qu'un intermédiaire électif entre le Gouvernement et les populations sous le nom de Bach-Captan ou sous tout autre fut nécessaire dans le pays de Scodro, je ne vois pas pourquoi il ne serait pas nécessaire dans tous les pays que je viens de nommer. Si donc la création du Bach-Captan est reconnue utile, il faudrait en créer autant qu'il se trouvera en Albanie de localités dans des conditions sociales analogues, et je garantis qu'il s'en trouvera beaucoup.

En passant à l'appréciation de ce Sous-Gouverneur des Montagnes, revêtu du grade de Pacha, je me demande à quel rang de fonctionnaires je pourrais l'assimiler. Je lui trouve bien quelque ressemblance avec le Gouverneur Chrétien du Liban. Mais le Gouverneur du Liban a été créé en vertu de toute une série de transactions internationales. Ce Gouverneur est unique et il ne peut pas y en avoir d'autres, le Liban étant unique. En Albanie ce serait tout différent vu la grande quantité de montagnes séparées que renferme ce pays. D'ailleurs, on nous dit que ce Projet a été mis en accord avec les réformes récemment élaborées par nous. C'est donc à l'un des fonctionnaires administratifs mentionnés dans les nouvelles lois que je dois chercher à assimiler ce Bach-Captan électif placé sous les ordres du Chef d'un sandjak. Evidemment il ne pourrait être assimilé qu'à un Mudir ou un Caïmakam. Mais, dans ce cas, je ne vois pas comment on pourrait vouloir soumettre à ce fonctionnaire subalterne un Prince des Mirdites, par exemple, ou quelque Chef héréditaire de plusieurs baïraks d'Albanais Musulmans.

Pour résumer, je me permettrai d'attirer l'attention de la Commission sur le danger qu'il pourrait y avoir à recommander un Projet quelconque précis et détaillé pour un pays aussi original que l'est l'Albanie, avant d'avoir soigneusement étudié la question sur les lieux et d'avoir consulté d'une façon ou d'une autre les vœux des intéressantes populations qui font l'objet de notre discussion. En préconisant un état de choses adapté exclusivement à une localité quelconque, ne risquerait-on pas de provoquer des jalousies naturelles et d'augmenter les sujets de discordes déjà trop nombreux parmi ces populations, pour lesquelles la guerre constitue un état permanent, pour ainsi dire, normal.

Telles sont les observations que j'ai cru de mon devoir de faire dès aujourd'hui sur le Projet qui nous a été soumis au point de vue purement social et administratif. Ces observations sont basées sur les quelques connaissances particulières que j'ai été à même d'acquérir sur le pays qui nous occupe pendant le séjour que j'y ai fait, il y a de cela bien longtemps.

Quant à l'ensemble du mémorandum présenté par MM. les Délégués d'Autriche-Hongrie et de France, comme j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de le déclarer, je l'ai pris *ad referendum*. En conséquence je me réserve de communiquer ultérieurement à la Commission les ordres que je pourrais recevoir à ce sujet de mon Gouvernement.

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No. 199.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 11.)*

(No. 321.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September 3, 1880.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 315 of the 31st August on the subject of the Montenegrin frontier, I have the honour to state that on that day the First Dragoman called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs to inquire whether the Sultan had approved the

line of frontier proposed by the Council of Ministers, and communicated to me by Abédine Pasha on the previous day. Sir Alfred Sandison found that a fresh change had taken place. Telegrams had arrived from Vali Riza Pasha announcing further difficulties on the part of the Albanians, and instead of proposing the acceptance of the line of frontier set out in the memorandum sent to the Porte by the Ambassadors on the 9th August, with the exception of Dinosi and Matakosh, a fresh line of frontier had been discussed by a Council at the Palace the night before. Abédine Pasha explained that Vali Riza Pasha had now stated that, in concert with the English and Austrian Consuls at Scutari, he was of opinion, and prepared to declare, that the only practical solution was to surrender Dulcigno, and to maintain the *status quo* as regards the frontier east of the lake. That is to say, that the Albanians should retain Dinosi, Hoti (*sic*), and Matakosh, and that the Montenegrins should keep the positions which they already occupied. The line between the two should be the definitive frontier.

I informed your Lordship of this new proposal by my telegram No. 198, and I pointed out that it differed from the proposal of the previous day. No more mention was made of accepting the line of the memorandum of the 9th August, and the effect would have been, as subsequent explanations have clearly shown, to give the Turks some further advantages in several directions.

On the same day Sir A. Sandison was at the Palace, and the Sultan desired him, through the First Chamberlain, to thank me for the letter I had written to Munir Bey (of which I forwarded a copy to your Lordship in my despatch No. 315 of the 31st ultimo), and to add "that, fully confiding in the Queen's sympathy and friendship, he would request me to beg Her Majesty in his name to help him out of his difficulties in the Montenegrin question."

I have quoted to your Lordship the exact words of the message, as given to me by Sir A. Sandison, who made a written note of them after the communication made to him by the First Chamberlain.

On the next day Musurus Pasha called upon me by order of the Sultan, and stated that he was instructed to inquire why England was so hostile to Turkey; that it was understood that England was still the Power which was insisting most on the naval demonstration, and that His Majesty could not understand the cause why, looking to the fact that throughout his reign he had done his utmost to support English policy. I need not trouble your Lordship with an account of the long conversation which followed, nor of the language I employed to prove, as I have so often endeavoured to do before, that in the course Her Majesty's Government are following they are certainly not inspired by any enmity towards Turkey.

It appeared to me the real motive of the visit of Musurus Pasha was to sound me as to whether Her Majesty's Government would give some sign of a friendly disposition to Turkey by supporting her plea for some delay as regards the execution of the Dulcigno arrangement; but I gave no hope in this direction, expressing at the same time my very strong conviction that the prolonged suspense was very fatal to Turkey herself, and would be her ruin unless brought to an end.

On the same day Count Corti was summoned by the Sultan, and pressed by His Majesty as to whether he would endeavour to arrange the Montenegrin difficulty in two days.

His Excellency stated that he could not undertake any separate action. His Majesty wished Count Corti to go to the Palace again in two days. Count Corti thought that the latter course was very undesirable, and as the Sultan fixed no hour, the second interview will not take place.

Yesterday the Foreign Minister summoned the Dragomans of all the Embassies, and submitted to them the explanation of what the Ottoman Government regards as the *status quo*. I inclose a copy of the note made by Sir A. Sandison from the Mazbata, or Ministerial minute, which was to be forwarded to the Sultan.

Count Corti, who is thoroughly conversant with all the geographical details of this complicated Montenegrin question, has drawn my special attention to the mention of Venia, and to the very close proximity of this position to Podgoritza. I am still without information from Mr. Green as to this last proposal of the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 199.

*Identic Communication from the Sublime Porte to the Powers.*

*Tracée des Positions occupées par les Monténégrins.*

AU nord du Lac de Scutari à partir de la rive du lac près de la partie ouest de la forêt de Mark, les villages de Gorni Gostil Bihkian, ainsi que le bois de Staniglava et Podgoritza.

*Positions occupées par les Albanais.*

A partir de la rive du lac sur la même ligne que la forêt de Mark, les villages de Matakash et de Vladna, Shipshanik, le port du Sein, Dinosh, et Onerbash.

La ligne-frontière du *status quo* commence donc du lac près de la partie ouest de la forêt de Mark, passe à travers Gosblik-Godri-Gostil, et Bihkian, laisse Stanislava au Monténégro, et, passant par l'Eglise de Nicola, vient à la rivière du Sem et de là au sommet de Venia, situé sur la frontière commune de Kautchi Craina, et de Gruda.

N.B.—Cette communication est faite aux Ambassades des Six Puissances par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères sur l'autorisation d'un Iradé Impérial. Dans le cas où ce tracé sera accepté par les Puissances, la Sublime Porte donnera immédiatement l'ordre à Ali Riza Pasha d'effectuer la livraison de Dulcigno au Monténégro.

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No. 200.

*Vice-Consul Blakeney to Earl Granville.—(Received September 11.)*

(No. 3.)
My Lord, *Prevesa, September 4, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of your Lordship, copy of my despatch No. 49 of to-day's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, relating to two encounters that have taken place between the Imperial forces and the brigands, and to two petitions from the inhabitants of Brazia and Grevenó.

I have also the honour to inclose a translation of M. Kypriotis' despatch of the 26th ultimo, with further information respecting the exile of his Dragoman's brother-in-law.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. BLAKENEY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 200.

*Vice-Consul Kypriotis to Vice-Consul Blakeney.*

(Translation.)
Sir, *Janina, August 26, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that Constantine Tzakmakis, my Dragoman's brother-in-law, was exiled last night. It appears that the only reason for his exile is that he had been useful and civil to Captain Sale, the English Commissioner, finding a house for him, &c.

I look upon this as a slight offered to this Agency. I have also to add that he has a numerous family, and that his wife is seriously ill. I begged the Moustessar to speak to Izeki Pasha in his behalf, but without success. A certain Papadopulos was exiled with him, and whose only crime is that he had gone out to welcome Captain Sale.

I am, &c.
(Signed) B. KYPRIOTIS.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 200.

*Vice-Consul Blakeney to Mr. Goschen.*

Sir, *Prevesa, September 4, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that M. Kypriotis reports on the 28th ultimo that an encounter, in which thirty zaptiehs were killed, took place on the 22nd

ultimo at Vovussa, district of Zagori, between 40 zaptiehs and 120 brigands, and that Colonel Ibrahim Bey had, in consequence, been dispatched thither from Janina with a company of soldiers and several zaptiehs.

M. Kypriotis has also forwarded to me copies of two petitions, of which I merely give your Excellency the substance, for they are written in such a way that it is almost impossible to translate them. One from the inhabitants of the village of Brázia to the Bishop of Konitza complaining against a Mullahzim, Suleiman by name, and the scoundrel Faeso, for having slaughtered the Moukhtars of their village, as well as a boy fifteen years old, for having plundered their dwellings, for having extorted from them the sum of 12 liras, and, finally, for having taken from them by force a declaration in writing that all the expenses incurred by them and their men have been paid.

The other petition is addressed to M. Kypriotis by the inhabitants of Greveno, and begins by alluding to past treatment received by the petitioners at the hands of the "gentle Bashi-Bazouks," and then to their present sufferings arising from incendiarisms during harvest time, from brigandage, from pressure exercised upon them by several members of the Albanian League, with a view of forcing them to join the League, and, lastly, to the fears they now entertain in consequence of their having refused to do so.

M. Kypriotis also reports that in an encounter which had taken place at Greveno on the 30th July last between the troops under the command of Alaiberg and a band of brigands, the famous brigand Chief Leonidas was slain.

Before concluding my despatch, I beg leave to remark that the above-mentioned Faeso is the same man of whom mention is made in my despatches No. 32 of the 25th October, 1879, and No. 5 of the 14th February last, to Sir Henry Layard, and that, notwithstanding his disgraceful conduct at Arta, has been put at the head of a body of irregular police and sent to pursue brigands. As to the manner in which he is carrying out his mission, the above is, I believe, a very good illustration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. BLAKENEY.

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No. 201.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 393. Extender.)
My Lord, *Rome, August 24, 1880.*

AT Count Maffei's request I called upon him this morning at the Foreign Office. After referring to various subjects, he said that having been summoned by the President of the Council to meet General Cialdini at his Excellency's summer residence on the Lake of Como, he thought it essential, before his departure from Rome, at the present moment, to define unequivocally the position of the Italian Government in the Italian and Greek questions. The various suggestions and proposals, he said, lately put forward by other Powers indicate a slight divergence of opinion, which has only tended to create confusion, and to increase the difficulty, already great, of bringing these questions to a satisfactory solution.

Under these circumstances, he begged that I would take the first opportunity to state that the Italian Cabinet have decided that for the future they will entertain no proposals or suggestions in regard to the negotiations for the rectification of the Greek and Montenegrin frontiers which have not previously met with your Lordship's approval and sanction; in short, that the Italian Cabinet will be entirely guided by the course which Her Majesty's Government think fit to pursue.

I said that I should have great pleasure in conveying this friendly message to your Lordship, the more so as the general impression entertained by my colleagues was that this Government had somewhat modified its views with regard to these questions, and the press, which was formerly most decided in its tone, appeared now to advocate a policy of non-intervention, and calls upon the Government to define the limits of its responsibility.

Count Maffei replied that, so far as the Government was concerned, it had hitherto faithfully adhered to the European concert, and it was manifest by its action that it had no intention whatever of evading its engagements. While other Powers have raised obstacles and difficulties, Italy has steadily adhered to the policy initiated by Her Majesty's Government, and has given every proof of its desire to aid in carrying out the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin. The reservations and exceptions, he said, which have since been made by certain Governments have necessarily brought other political considerations into



play, and it is as difficult to define the influence they may exercise on the combined efforts of the Powers as it is impossible to foretell the circumstances to which their combined action may give rise. These considerations, Count Maffei concluded by saying, cannot be lost sight of by Italy; but in every other respect, he could assure me, her policy with regard to the Eastern question remains unchanged.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

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No. 202.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 11.)*

(No. 407. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, September 3, 1880.*

IN a conversation I had this morning with Turkhan Bey, the Turkish Minister, he called my attention to an article which has appeared in to-day's issue of the "Italie," a copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

As this paper is said to receive constant inspiration from the Italian Foreign Office, Turkhan Bey asked me if I thought that in the present instance it expressed the views of the Italian Government. He then went on to say that personally he was of opinion that it was absolutely necessary that his Government should, without further loss of time, settle the Montenegrin frontier question, and that it was probably due to the difficulties anticipated by the Porte in the settlement of the Greek question that the delay was due.

He then broached the subject of the policy lately pursued by Her Majesty's Government with regard to Turkey, and referred in somewhat bitter terms to the implacable determination manifested by England to enforce the decisions of the Berlin Conference, which decisions, he said, now met with so little sympathy on the part of most Powers. He spoke of the hesitation of France, the caution of Austria, the servile obligingness ("complaisance servile") of Italy, and the apathy of Germany, and added that he deplored the encouragement given to Russian schemes by the relentless policy of Her Majesty's Government in demanding the wholesale sacrifice to Greece of a true and faithful population, and of the greater portion of one of the wealthiest provinces of the Empire.

I replied that Her Majesty's Government was simply and faithfully carrying out the stipulations of a Treaty to which they, the Turks, were equally a party.

I said that so far as Greece was concerned, the question principally originated with France and Italy, who have since been the loudest in proclaiming its grievances; but as these questions form part of the great work of reform in Eastern Europe, England, he might rest assured, would not deviate of a line from the course prescribed to her by the engagements she has entered into.

His Government, I observed, perhaps reckons on the supposed divergences said to exist among the Powers, or on the indifference and lukewarmness of this or the other Power, but the Porte may ere long discover its error. The Powers, I assured him, are not deceived by the temporizing policy of his Government, and as the concert between the different Governments is unchanged, if the Porte persists in its present attitude it will have ample opportunity of judging of the determination, not only of the Government of Her Majesty, but also of the other European Governments, to demand that their decisions be duly respected.

After a few unimportant observations, Turkhan Bey requested me to consider what had passed as private and personal, and then referred to other matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

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No. 203.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 11.)*

(No. 412. Secret.)
My Lord, *Rome, September 8, 1880.*

COUNT MAFFEI informed me last evening that in his reply to the Marquis de Reverseau, the French Chargé d'Affaires, with reference to the instructions of the French Government to their Admiral, he had adhered strictly to the wording of your Lordship's

answer to the French Government, the text of which was conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegram No. 529 of the 4th instant, and a copy of which I left with the Count.

I asked Count Maffei if, in his communication, the French Chargé d'Affaires appeared desirous that the Italian Government should adopt the form of instructions drawn up by France. Count Maffei replied that he certainly understood that such was the object of the communication made to him on behalf of the French Government.

The Marquis de Reverseau, who has since spoken to me on the subject, expressed great surprise and annoyance, and declared that Count Maffei's statement was altogether incorrect. The Marquis added that he was at a loss to understand why Count Maffei should have purposely delayed the departure of the French vessels from Toulon; and, furthermore, as he has since ascertained, why he should have committed the indiscretion of informing the Turkish Minister here of the nature of the secret instructions sent by the French Government to their Admiral.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

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No. 204.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 11.)*

(No. 413. Confidential.)
*Rome, September* 8, 1880.

My Lord,

MR. ADAMS states in his No. 743 of the 17th ultimo, which has reached me in the last distribution of the Confidential print, that the Baron de Courcel had stated that in the telegram sent to the French Embassies with regard to the execution of the Dulcigno arrangement less Gruda and Dinosi, nothing was said as to a further delay.

In reply, I venture to observe that the telegram to the French Representatives referred to by M. de Courcel was accompanied by a private instruction, in which the French Government expressed itself favourable to the granting of the further delay in question, both telegrams having been confidentially communicated to me by the Marquis de Reverseau.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

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No. 205.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 11.)

(No. 414.)
*Rome, September* 8, 1880.

My Lord,

HEREWITH I have the honour to inclose a précis translation of an article from the "Neue Freie Presse" of Vienna, relative to the prospects of an alliance between Italy, Germany, and Austria, together with the remarks of the "Opinione" and the "Diritto" on the significance and importance of the language of the Austrian journal.

I may add that I have reason to believe that the appreciations of the "Diritto" have been inspired by the Italian Foreign Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

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Inclosure in No. 205.

*Précis Translation from the "Opinione" and the "Diritto" of September 7,* 1880.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ITALY.—The "Opinione" notices an article in the "Neue Freie Presse" of the 4th instant, expressing contentment at the prospect of a *rapprochement* between Italy, Germany, and Austria, in consequence of the disagreement between the French and Italian Governments on the Tunisian question, and remarks that it sees no occasion to speak of such a *rapprochement*, because the relations between the three countries have not in any way lately been disturbed.

Italy has adopted and will follow the policy of a sincere and loyal friendship with all



the other European Powers. Why should she lean more towards one group of Powers than towards another? Is it, indeed, true that the dispute with France has entirely cast her into the arms of Germany and Austria? France has adopted a mistaken policy towards us. The Tunisian incident is an unpleasant one, and we have not one, but a thousand reasons for defending our interests; still we need not renounce our liberty of choice at the moment of a struggle on this account. This struggle it is our supreme duty to prevent with all our strength, so that, should it become inevitable, we may have acquired the right to take no part in it as long as our interests are not directly assailed; and if in the end we could no longer abstain without grave injury to our honour and credit, we ought to retain the right of choosing the allies most to our country's true advantage.

We desire no adventurous or rancorous line of policy. We wish that, in these troublous times, every State may be able to rely upon us to avoid a conflict, and spare Europe the disaster of a war.

The article in the "Neue Freie Presse" speaks of a great change in the feelings of the Italian nation, and says that "the arrogance and rudeness of France towards Italy have rendered a Franco-Italian alliance impossible for many years to come.

"Politicians in Italy prefer liberty of action, but feel the want of support.

"It is fortunate that at the time when Italy discovers this rude delusion on the side of France, the visit of Baron Haymerle [?] anew to the Italians how closely Germany and Austria are knit together, so that it is impossible to be at once the ally of one and the enemy of the other. The alliance with Germany, which the Italians looked to with so much reliance when a war with France about the temporal power seemed possible, can now only be obtained by the friends of Austria.

"All intelligent Italian politicians recognize the necessity of an alliance with Austria, which we continually recommend to Italian diplomatists, and the advantages of which are obvious. In alliance with Germany and Austria, Italy will no longer have anything to fear, whilst, if she preserves the liberty of action so dear to her Cabinet, no slight danger will continue to exist for the weakest military 'Great Power' of Europe.

"In case of a general European war, Italy could not possibly remain neutral. In alliance with France, she would have everything to lose, and nothing to gain, in alliance with Germany and Austria; the opposite would probably be the case. The only requisite is for Italy to make an end once for all of the 'Irredentists.' There are but two Powers in Europe who can disturb the peace—France and Russia. Nothing need be feared from France as long as the moderate Republicans remain in power. The Russians as a nation are perhaps more peacefully inclined than the French; but who asks their opinion? Russia has been threatening Austria for several years past. In Italy, Russian policy has for many years been mining and plotting without much success. If Italy allies herself with Austria, she will secure her gratitude by rendering a Russian attack less likely and less possible.

"We think that this idea merits the serious attention of Italian statesmen, in view of the slight fidelity of France, and we trust not to have put it forward in vain, but that it will meet with concurrence and support in the Italian press."

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The "Diritto" of the 17th September has the following *communiqué* from the Italian Foreign Office. After mentioning the above-quoted article from the "Neue Freie Presse," it says: "The respective advantages and losses which Italy could derive from a *rapprochement* towards France or towards Germany and Austria are demonstrated by the 'Neue Freie Presse' with an eloquent (however disputable) brevity—complete and absolute ruin if allied to France and France fell, and, on the other hand, no possible disadvantage from an alliance with Germany and Austria, even in the event of defeat."

The laconism is, however, far less eloquent in speaking of the advantages of either hypothesis.

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No. 206.

*Sir C. Wyke to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 11.)

(No. 90.)
(Extract.)
*Copenhagen, September* 8, 1880.

I HAD a long conversation with the King of Greece, in which he said he had greatly enjoyed his visit to England this spring, and that he felt grateful for the sympathy shown to him by the Queen and Her Majesty's Government.

In speaking of the future prospects of his country, His Majesty said he had reason to believe that one of the Great Powers recently represented at the Berlin Conference now thought the cession of Janina to his kingdom unadvisable, but was willing that some compensation should be given to Greece instead. This the King said he would never accept, he being of opinion that the line of demarcation fixed on at Berlin should be strictly adhered to, and that no alteration whatever should be made in the solution of the question then arrived at.

On my remarking that, from the population of Janina being composed principally of Mussulmans, its possession might prove more troublesome than advantageous, he said that that supposition was quite erroneous, as its inhabitants were in reality more Greek than those of Athens itself. On my asking what compensation His Majesty alluded in exchange for Janina, he said it would probably be Crete that would be offered him, and concluded by remarking that unless the question was now finally settled, it would probably lead to the breaking out of war in the spring of next year.

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No. 207.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pauncefote.*—(*Received September* 11.)

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Admiralty, September* 11, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will inform Earl Granville that, on receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, the necessary instructions were addressed to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, in the terms of draft (A), transmitted by Lord Granville on the 28th August.

On the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant the Vice-Admiral was directed (by telegraph and letter dispatched the 10th) to insert the words "then the action of the fleet is to be considered as terminated" in the last paragraph but one of the foregoing instructions.

My Lords desire me to transmit copy of a letter addressed to Sir Beauchamp Seymour on the 10th instant, informing him that the other Powers, except France, have issued orders to their Commanders similar to those addressed to the Vice-Admiral, also informing him of the separate instructions given by the French Government to their Admiral.

It will be seen that this letter is founded on draft (C), which was transmitted with your letter of the 8th instant, and which, together with its inclosures, was forwarded by the Earl of Northbrook privately to Sir Beauchamp Seymour.

I am to add that a similar course was adopted in regard to draft (B), transmitted in your letter of the 28th August.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 207.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Admiralty, September* 10, 1880.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to state to you that the Governments of Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy have sent instructions to their Commanders similar to those addressed to you.

The French Government proposed certain modifications, with which the other Powers did not concur; they have consequently sent separate instructions to their Admiral, of which a copy will be furnished to you by Captain Sale.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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No. 208.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.*—(*Received September* 11.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, September* 11, 1880.

WITH reference to my letter of to-day, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit herewith copies of the instructions as actually forwarded to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 8th and 10th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 208.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

Sir, *Admiralty, September* 8, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you the accompanying copies of notes which have been exchanged between the Representatives at Constantinople of the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of Berlin and the Porte respecting the rectification of the Montenegrin frontier.

You will see from this correspondence, and from the other papers relating to the subject which have been forwarded to you, that the Porte has before it two proposals for the frontier: one for a cession of territory inland, north of Lake Scutari, to which it assented in the Agreement signed at Constantinople on the 18th April; and the other, a proposal made by the Ambassadors on the 26th June for a rectification of frontier to the east and west of Lake Scutari, which, on the side of the sea, should extend the territory of Montenegro as far as the mouth of the Boyana, including Dulcigno.

On the 3rd August a collective communication, of which a copy is inclosed, was made to the Porte, in which the Ambassadors stated that unless the April Agreement was carried out within three weeks the Porte would be expected to join the Powers in assisting the Prince of Montenegro to take possession of the Dulcigno district under the alternative plan.

On the 5th August a memorandum was unofficially presented to the Porte, of which a copy is also inclosed, indicating the rectification of frontier intended to the east of Lake Scutari.

The Porte has objected to the proposals for this rectification of frontier to the east of the lake, but has accepted in principle the cession of Dulcigno and the district mentioned by the Powers to the west of the lake.

The period of three weeks, however, expired on the 24th August without this district having been surrendered, and the object of the present naval proceedings is to carry out the note of the 3rd August by supporting the Prince of Montenegro in taking possession of it.

Her Majesty's Government have agreed with the Government of Austria upon the following instructions for the guidance of their respective naval Commanders:—

The combined fleets are to support the military action of the Prince of Montenegro in taking possession of Dulcigno, but troops are not to be landed or operations undertaken on the shore.

The Commanders of the ships forming part of the expeditionary fleet are to be under the supreme command of the Senior Admiral in rank, and should he be temporarily absent, the next senior in rank is to act in his place.

Her Majesty's Government understand that your seniority in Her Majesty's naval service will confer the command upon you, and that this is the intention of the Austrian Government.

In all questions of a purely military nature the Commander-in-chief is to act independently. In political questions he is bound to come to an understanding with the Commanders of the several divisions of the fleet. Should such an understanding not be arrived at, each Commander is to report to his Government on the question at issue, and any further action is to be suspended until the Powers have come to a decision. The Commanders, however, will have to comply with a military order from the Commander-in-chief, even in this case, under written protest, if necessary.

On your arrival at Ragusa you should place yourself in communication with the Commanders of the squadrons of the other Powers represented, and it will be advisable

that you should concert with them how the joint naval force may most effectively be displayed off Dulcigno.

When this shall have been decided by the Commander-in-chief, he will address a summons to the Governor of Scutari and the local authorities of the town of Dulcigno to deliver up the town and the territory of Dulcigno to Montenegro. If the Agents of the Porte declare their consent to this, the Commander-in-chief is at once to inform the Prince of Montenegro, and to call upon him to advance his troops and take possession of Dulcigno. Should the Turkish authorities decline, and declare that they have no instructions from the Porte, or should they agree to the transfer in principle, but declare that it cannot be practically accomplished in consequence of the opposition of the Albanian population, then, after a delay of three days to be allowed to the Turkish authorities for the purpose of obtaining orders from the Porte, the Prince of Montenegro is to be informed as soon as possible, and invited to take possession of Dulcigno by military means, with an assurance of support from the fleet. In this case, the Commander-in-chief is authorized to order, on his responsibility, all measures on the part of the fleet that may appear conducive to such support, and which do not involve any operations on shore.

Should the Prince of Montenegro fail to comply with the invitation of the Powers to advance his troops in either of the cases above mentioned, then the action of the fleet is to be considered terminated, and you will report to Her Majesty's Government by telegraph and await further instructions.

You will keep their Lordships fully informed, by telegraph and by despatches, of all that occurs, sending duplicates of all your communications to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 208.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour, September* 10, 1880.

[See inclosure in No. 207.]

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No. 209.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 512.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880, 1·40 P.M.

I APPROVE your sending Vincent to Bulgaria, as proposed in your telegram No. 208.

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No. 210.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 513.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880, 1·50 P.M.

WE presume that if the Porte accepts the line of frontier to be proposed in the collective note, an Agreement should at once be signed with the Montenegrin Representative, and be ratified by the Representatives in a Protocol. Let me have your opinion as to this.

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No. 211.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.*

(No. 566.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880, 1·50 P.M.

WITH reference to Mr. Green's telegram No. 93, respecting language of Italian Chargé d'Affaires and Consul, the same information has reached me from an entirely different source. You should mention the subject to Italian Government, but without naming the sources of information.

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No. 212.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.*

(No. 639.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880, 4·30 P.M.

YOURS No. 166.

THE words are: "then the action of the fleets is to be considered as terminated."

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No. 213.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.*

(No. 12.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880, 6·30 P.M.

WITH reference to Sir H. Elliot's telegram No. 148, you should inquire about the report of the proposed loan to East Roumelia, and point out how much such a proceeding at the present moment would influence public opinion in this country against Bulgaria.

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No. 214.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 11, 7·46 P.M.)

(No. 151.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 11, 1880, 6·5 P.M.

M. KÁLLAY, to whom I communicated Mr. Green's telegram No. 95, appeared to doubt the expediency of acceding to the Prince of Montenegro's demand that, if the Porte intends to surrender Dulcigno, the invitation to him should be given through the Agents of the Powers, and he thought that the notification should be made direct to the Montenegrin authorities, as was decided on the occasion of the Corti arrangement.

M. Kállay will, however, ask the opinion of Baron Haymerle, who has just come back.

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No. 215.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 11, 11·15 P.M.)

(No. 124.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 11, 1880, 9 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 564.

I have mentioned to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the reports referred to by Mr. Green.

He says that reports as to views and opinions attributed to Italian Chargé d'Affaires and Consul are false and unfounded. With regard to Dulcigno being placed under Italian protection, he denies all knowledge of such an absurd scheme. He proved it by placing in my hands all the secret correspondence with the Italian Agents. He said if such a proposal were carried out they would immediately hand the town over to the Montenegrins.

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No. 216.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 446. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880.

HER Majesty's Government would be glad to have your Excellency's opinion as to whether, if the Porte accepts the line of frontier to be proposed in the collective note, it would be advisable that a formal agreement should at once be drawn up and signed by a Turkish and a Montenegrin Representative, and be ratified by the Representatives of the

Powers at Constantinople, as was done in the case of the compromise agreed upon through the mediation of Count Corti.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 217.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 107. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE received your telegram No. 94 of the 8th instant, with respect to the advisability of your proceeding to Ragusa and Montenegro, and I have to state to you that unless personal danger is incurred by your remaining at Scutari, I consider that your presence there will, under existing circumstances, be of greater use to the public service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 218.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.*

(No. 115. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880

Sir,

INFORMATION has reached Her Majesty's Government that the Government of Eastern Roumelia is endeavouring to obtain from Bulgaria a loan of 2,500,000 fr.

I have to request you to make inquiries as to the truth of this report, and to point out to the Bulgarian Government what a prejudicial effect such a loan would have on public opinion in this country with regard to the Principality.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 219.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.*

(No. 503. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September* 11, 1880.

Sir,

INFORMATION which has reached me from an entirely different source confirms the telegraphic report sent by Mr. Kirby Green on the 7th instant as to the language held by the Italian Agent and Consul-General respecting the naval demonstration.

I have therefore to request that you will mention the subject to the Italian Government, but you should be careful not to name the sources whence the information is derived.

The substance of this instruction was telegraphed to you to-day.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 220.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 97.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1880.

YOUR No. 94.

I still think you will be more useful remaining at Scutari for the present unless there is actual danger.

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No. 221.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 518.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1880, 12·30 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 210.

I hope there will be no further delay in presenting the collective note. You may inform the Porte, in addition, that immediate action is expected, and that we disclaim all responsibility for results arising from delay.

Concert with your colleagues the language you should hold.

I have telegraphed to other Powers.

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No. 222.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.**

(No. 448.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1880, 1 A.M.

FOLLOWING received from Mr. Green, dated Scutari, September 8 :—

[See No. 167, down to "Montenegro."]

I have in consequence telegraphed to Mr. Goschen as follows :—

[See No. 221.]

Inform Government to which you are accredited, and suggest that instructions should be sent to their Ambassador to join in firm and united language to the Porte as to the necessity of immediate execution of its engagements.

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No. 223.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 12, 1·12 P.M.)

(No. 87.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 12, 1880, *noon.*

YOUR telegram 448.

French Government will send instructions to their Ambassador at Constantinople as suggested, and to concert with Her Majesty's Ambassador as to signing and presenting fresh collective note.

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No. 224.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 12, 6·38 P.M.)

(No. 215.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 12, 1880, 2 P.M.

THE Prime Minister has sent in his resignation, but it is not yet known whether it has been accepted nor who will succeed him. Mahmoud Nedim, Server Pasha, and Said Pasha are spoken of. Minister for Foreign Affairs' position is also in suspense. The latter told me, confidentially, that he and the Prime Minister refused to sign a document which is being prepared on account of its aggressive tone against Europe. It appears to be a note on the subject of the naval demonstration. How far the statement may be absolutely true I cannot say. Prime Minister told me he resigned on account of ill-health.

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No. 225.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 12, 7·20 P.M.)

(No. 216.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 12, 1880, 1·55 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 215, I hear Prime Minister is really out. The name of Djevdet Pasha, Minister of Justice, is also mentioned as possible successor.

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* Also to Lord Odo Russell (No. 525), Sir H. Elliot (No. 583), Mr. Macdonell (No. 570), and Mr. Plunkett (No. 640).

No. 226.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 12, 8·36 P.M.)

(No. 217.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 12, 1880, 1·10 P.M.

IT is very extraordinary that your Lordship's telegram No. 476, with instructions relative to collective note, should apparently have been lost, but as the news of the Emperor's final assent to the note contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 452 of the 31st August only reached me this morning, no time has been actually lost.

I now take immediate steps for ascertaining whether more colleagues are ready, and for preparation of note.

Is draft communicated in your Lordship's No. 452 final? The passage about Gruda is not very clear.

I have not received a copy of the map mentioned in the telegram, but Austrian Ambassador just informs me that he has it, and Italian also, so I can see it. Italian Ambassador has not yet instructions to sign.

My telegram No. 210, dated the 9th September, was, as your Lordship will have seen, sent in ignorance of the instructions sent me in the missing telegram No. 476.

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No. 227.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 12, 8·36 P.M.)

(No. 219.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 12, 1880, 4·50 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 513, we have thought here that a formal Agreement must be made between the Porte and Montenegro, and that there must be a Protocol, signed by us, accepting the arrangement as a substitute for the arrangement embodied in the Treaty of Berlin. Dulcigno should be surrendered without waiting for signature of Agreement, which may take time.

The change of Ministry may cause delay. I shall be able to judge, by the new Premier selected, whether settlement is facilitated or the reverse.

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No. 228.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 12, 8·36 P.M.)

(No. 126.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 12, 1880, 7 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 570.

I have communicated to Italian Government the substance of your Lordship's telegram to Mr. Goschen. Identic instructions have been sent to Count Corti.

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No. 229.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 418.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September* 7, 1880.

ON receiving your Lordship's telegram of last night, I communicated the text of the self-denying Protocol, as modified by the Austrian Government, to the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, which, as your Lordship is aware, Count Hatzfeldt has already been authorized to sign.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 230.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 420.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September* 7, 1880.

IN obedience to your Lordship's telegraphic instruction of last night, I asked the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Limburg Stirum, whether the German Government adhered to the instructions to the Naval Commanders proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and modified by that of Austria, and his Excellency told me in reply that those instructions had already been communicated to the German Admiralty, and that he had informed the French Government that the farther modification proposed by them could no longer be entertained or accepted by the German Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 231.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 422.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September* 7, 1880.

COUNT LIMBURG STIRUM tells me that the German Government has no Representative in Montenegro at present, and has therefore not the means of communicating with the Prince, as suggested by Mr. Green in his telegram No. 87 to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 232.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 379. Extenter.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to report that M. de Giers coincides in the opinion entertained by your Lordship, that there is an essential difference between the verbal communications made by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the foreign Ambassadors, and the last written note of the Porte on the Montenegrin Frontier question.

His Excellency informs me that a telegram to Prince Labanoff has been prepared for submission to the Emperor, somewhat to the following effect:—

"The Russian Government would be prepared to concur with that of Her Majesty in insisting on the immediate and complete execution of all the terms of the Dulcigno project, but should the English Government think it desirable in the presence of the difficulties which have arisen to postpone the consideration of that part of the project which affects the frontier to the east of Lake Scutari, and which includes Dinosi, the Russian Government would be willing to accept the immediate surrender of Dulcigno as an instalment, provided the Porte is warned that the other demands comprised in the settlement are strictly maintained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 233.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 380. Extenter.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880.

I HAVE communicated to M. de Giers the instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to send to Mr. Goschen in reference to the Montenegrin Frontier

question, as forwarded to me in your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 538 and 539 of the 21st ultimo.

Although his Excellency will be obliged to submit the matter to the Emperor for his formal sanction, M. de Giers states that he has little doubt His Majesty will agree to send similar instructions to the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 234.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 383. Extender.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 9, 1880.

BARON JOMINI has received a telegram from Livadia to the effect that, if all the other Powers subscribe to the Austrian proposition relative to Montenegro, the Imperial Cabinet will concur in order to preserve the necessary concert.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 235.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 384. Extender.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 9, 1880.

THE Prince of Montenegro has telegraphed to say that if the occupation of Dulcigno is to be pacific, he will be ready in eight days; but if it becomes necessary to employ force, a longer time will be required for his preparations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 236.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 385. Extender.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 9, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to state, as reported in my telegram No. 160 of the 8th instant, that Baron Jomini has no doubt the Russian Government will adhere to the self-denying Protocol. My note on the subject has been forwarded to Livadia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 237.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 386. Extender.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 9, 1880.

THE instructions to the Russian Admiral will be altered in conformity with the amended form of the English instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 238.

*The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 387.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 8, 1880.

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram No. 536 of the 31st instant, I consigned to a note, addressed to M. de Giers, the terms of the answer proposed by the Austrian Government to the Porte in reference to the Montenegrin frontier, informing his Excellency at the same time that both the Governments of Her Majesty and that of Germany were willing to agree to the arrangements suggested, provided they were assented to by the other Powers.

M. de Giers having already quitted the Foreign Office, I placed the note in the hands of Baron Jomini.

On the 4th September I called upon the Baron to ascertain if he had received any reply from M. de Giers. His Excellency informed me that M. de Giers had telegraphed to him from Livadia that the Russian Government were ready to concur in the Austrian modifications, in so far as they met with the approval of the British Government, and he added that in all probability M. de Giers would have telegraphed to that effect to Prince Labanoff.

The next day, however, I received a private line from Baron Jomini, telling me that in consequence of Prince Nicholas insisting so strongly on keeping Dinosi, as well as in view of the fresh objections raised by the Porte to the Austrian proposals, the Russian Government considered that, after all, it would be better to revert to the original English combination, namely, to call upon the Montenegrins to occupy Dulcigno as a preliminary, and to proceed, as soon as might be thereafter possible, to the execution of the remaining items of the Dulcigno project.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

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No. 239.

*Abédine Pasha to Musurus Bey.*—(*Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September* 13.)

M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Sublime Porte, le* 31 *Août*, 1880.

J'AI reçu les deux rapports responsifs que vous m'avez adressés en date des 29 Juillet et 5 Août, relativement à la situation des Musulmans de la Bulgarie.

Tout en remerciant Lord Granville des représentations énergiques qu'il ne cesse de faire parvenir à Sophia, nous persistons à croire que la formation de la Commission d'Enquête proposée par la Sublime Porte est le meilleur moyen d'arriver à améliorer le sort de la population Musulmane de la Principauté. Je vous prie de revenir sur ce sujet auprès de sa Seigneurie à la première occasion favorable et de tâcher d'obtenir son adhésion aux moyens que je viens de vous signaler.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) ABÉDINE.

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No. 240.

*Abédine Pasha to Musurus Bey.*—(*Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September* 13.)

M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Sublime Porte, le* 2 *Septembre*, 1880.

J'AI reçu le rapport responsif que vous m'avez adressé le 12 Août, relativement à l'incendie de quatre villages Musulmans de la Roumélie Orientale par des miliciens Bulgares.

Nous remercions le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique des dispositions qu'il veut bien témoigner pour mettre un terme à la situation intolérable qui est fait aux populations Musulmanes de la Bulgarie et de la Roumélie Orientale.

Puisque la justesse de nos griefs est admise, nous nous croyons autorisés à espérer que le redressement ne s'en fera pas attendre, surtout lorsqu'on se sera décidé à substituer aux investigations particles qui manquent souvent leur but, des enquêtes collectives offrant toutes les garanties de justice et d'impartialité voulues.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) ABÉDINE.

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No. 241.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13, 2·15 A.M.)

(No. 97.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 11, 1880, 8 P.M.

DURING the last two days there have been several public meetings and also interviews between Riza Pasha and the Scutari notables, but the resolute endeavour to oppose a peaceable surrender has been maintained.

Volunteers are still joining the main body on the Mazura, and great efforts are being made by the Mussulmans to induce the Roman Catholic clans to join them. If Riza Pasha limits his action to giving good advice the mountaineers [?] may yield.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 242.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

*Ragusa, September* 12, 1880.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival at Ragusa, and delivery of the despatch to the Admiral.

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No. 243.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13, 1 A.M.)

(No. 167.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 12, 1880, 8 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 637 :

While reserving his official answer until he hears from Livadia, M. Jomini says that Russia coincides in principle of respecting the proprietary rights of Mussulman inhabitants possessing real property in the districts to be ceded to Montenegro. The reason for which Russia has abstained from confirming this principle is because it is clearly contained in the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, which Montenegro has strictly adhered to as regards the districts which she has already received under that Treaty.

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No. 244.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.) *Sophia, September* 12, 1880.

HAVE communicated to Prince substance of your telegram No. 12. His Highness told me that the [group omitted ; ? loan] could not be made without the consent [of] Chamber. He was strongly opposed to it himself, and so was M. Zancoff, and he hoped that it would not be voted by the Chamber, but if it should be he had no power to prevent it being made. He believed that the money was wanted to pay the employés in Eastern Roumelia, and that a very small portion, if any, would be devoted to Macedonia. He could assure me that if the loan were made it would be against his will and in spite of his objections.

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No. 245.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13, 10·48 A.M.)

(No. 220.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 12, 1880, 11·30 P.M.

SAID PASHA named Prime Minister; Abédine replaced by Assim Pasha, President of the Eastern Roumelian Commission, a heavy [*sic*] Turk, speaking very little French.

Lord E. Fitzmaurice has described him to your Lordship. Server Pasha, who was dismissed some time ago on account of his language about Sir H. Layard, becomes President of the Corps Législatif. There are other less important changes.

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No. 246.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13, 9·23 A.M.)

(No. 221.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 13, 1880, 1 A.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 217 of this day, and your telegram No. 518, since received, I have seen French and German colleagues, who had no instructions, but have telegraphed for them immediately.

We have fixed Tuesday for meeting, hoping that all will receive instructions by that time, but it is impossible to say what policy the new Government may pursue.

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No. 247.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 223. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 13, 1880.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 221 of to-night, I have the statement as to the refusal of Cadri Pasha and Abédine to sign a very strongly-worded protest addressed to the Powers from Abédine himself, and also from another perfectly independent source.

The statement that Musuros Pasha had drafted the note has been repeated to me by one of my colleagues, and was confirmed by another informant, but Abédine said nothing about it.

Cadri Pasha assured the French Ambassador, in the strongest terms, three days ago, that he pledged himself to him and to all the Ambassadors to do his utmost in the Council to induce the Sultan to sanction the surrender of Dulcigno, and it is universally believed that he did so.

On the balance of evidence, the Palace version is certainly false.

Sultan is annoyed at "resignation," as he much prefers "dismissal," and the latter word is used in the Imperial Hatt announcing changes.

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No. 248.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 13, 1 P.M.)

(No. 224. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 13, 1880, 12·45 P.M.

THE following version of the change of Ministry is probably correct: Musurus Pasha had drawn up a somewhat violent protest to be made by the Porte against the naval demonstration; Cadri Pasha and Abédine fought hard against it, and attempted in vain to tone it down. Cadri Pasha then resigned, and Abédine determined to refuse to sign it as [? intended].

The Palace version is that Cadri Pasha refused to consent to the surrender of Dulcigno; but the evidence is very strong against this statement. At the same time, it is just possible that Cadri and Abédine, having been removed to make way for Said, the Sultan's greatest protégé, the projected violent move may be abandoned. The Sultan has long desired to have Said back. The appointment, at first sight, is a strong demonstration against England, and we must look on it in that light. The advantage is that we shall now know we are dealing with the guiding spirit; whereas, hitherto, the views and decisions of Ministers were continually overruled at the Palace.

In my judgment, it will be necessary to take a very decided tone. One of my first acts will be to communicate the contents of your Lordship's despatch No. 264 of the 22nd July last officially to the new Prime Minister, and to call upon him to communicate it to His Majesty. I had read the despatch to Abedino, but it will be well to recur to it now. I trust your Lordship will approve of this course.

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No. 249.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 519.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880, 4·10 P.M.

WILL you instruct Mr. Stephen to act on the suggestions in Colonel Wilson's Report as to watching the unionist movement during the field manœuvres of the reservists and at Slivno.

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No. 250.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 13, 7·55 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Salonica, September* 13, 1880, 2 P.M.

THE military Pasha of Salonica has received orders from the Porte to call out three battalions of first ban of Redifs. These troops will be enrolled in the Sandjaks of Salonica, Drama, and Serres.

I have sent above to Constantinople.

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No. 251.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 452.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 239 of the 13th ultimo, pointing out the difficulty of united action on the part of the Ambassadors at Constantinople in regard to the complaints addressed to them by the Porte of the ill-treatment of Mussulmans in Bulgaria, and I agree with you that, under the circumstances, the question must be dealt with independently by each Ambassador, unless the Governments can agree among themselves on a common course of action in the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 252.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 454.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

I HAVE to request you to convey to Colonel Wilson my best thanks for his very interesting Report on the Unionist Movement in Eastern Roumelia, which was inclosed in your Excellency's despatch No. 313, Confidential, of the 31st ultimo. Her Majesty's Government would wish your Excellency to furnish Mr. Stephen with a copy of Colonel Wilson's Report, and to desire him to make occasional visits to Slivno, as suggested by Colonel Wilson, that town being, as it appears, one of the centres of political activity as regards the Unionist Movement, and to keep an especially careful watch on the movements of the Bulgarians during the field manœuvres of the "Reservists."

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 253.

*Earl Granville to Lord E. Fitzmaurice.*

(No. 52.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

I APPROVE the grounds on which you have based your opposition to the dissolution of the Eastern Roumelian Commission, as stated in your Lordship's despatch No. 81 of the 14th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 254.

*Earl Granville to Lord E. Fitzmaurice.*

(No. 53.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

I HAVE great pleasure in conveying to you the entire approval by Her Majesty's Government of the manner in which you have discharged the important duties entrusted to you as their Representative upon the Eastern Roumelian Commission.

They recognize the industry and ability which your Lordship has displayed in dealing with the numerous and intricate questions which have come before you, and they fully believe that the measures which you and your colleagues have recommended to the Porte, if properly applied, will largely conduce to the contentment and prosperity of all classes of the Sultan's subjects in European Turkey.

Your Lordship's despatches have kept me fully informed of the proceedings of the Commission, but I have especially to thank you for the careful analysis of the Projet de Loi as revised, contained in your despatch No. 90 of the 23rd ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 255.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.*

(No. 456.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

I INCLOSE copy of a despatch from Lord E. Fitzmaurice,* from which your Excellency will perceive that at the last meeting of the East Roumelian Commission the Russian Commissioner, at the instance of M. de Novikoff, refused to sign the declaration in favour of the recommendations of Baron Kosjek and M. Aubaret with regard to Albania, notwithstanding the reservations previously agreed upon between him and the British Commissioner.

I have to request your Excellency to call the attention of M. de Giers to the action of M. de Novikoff in this matter, and to urge upon him the expediency of the declaration in question receiving the support of the Russian Government, subject to the reservations already laid down.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 256.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*†

(No. 1247. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1880.

MR. GREEN has reported, under date of the 8th instant, that the arrival of volunteers and their dispatch to Dulcigno is proceeding with the same freedom as it did at the end of July, and that for the present, therefore, the regular troops sent in that direction must be looked upon as intended to oppose the action of the Powers; and Mr. Green suggested that, unless categorical orders were immediately sent to Riza Pasha to prove that the Turkish Government was the only authority at Scutari, the better course for him (Mr. Green) to follow would be to join the Admiral at Ragusa and proceed to Montenegro.

In consequence of this representation from Mr. Green, I have instructed Mr. Goschen by telegraph, in expressing the hope that no further delay would arise in presenting the collective note, to inform the Porte, in addition, that immediate action is expected from them, and that Her Majesty's Government disclaim all responsibility for results arising from delay.

I have also instructed Mr. Goschen to concert with his colleagues the language which it would be desirable to hold.

I have now to request that you will inform the Government to which you are accredited of the foregoing, and that you will suggest that instructions should be sent to

* See Part LII. No. 693.
† Similar despatches were addressed to Mr. Macdonell, Lord Odo Russell, and Sir H. Elliot.

their Ambassadors to join in firm and united language to the Porte as to the necessity of immediate execution of its engagements.

I have already communicated to you the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 257.

*Earl Granville to Musurûs Bey.*

*Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

YOU did me the honour to communicate to me on the 25th ultimo a despatch which you had received from Abédine Pasha, directing you to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the unfortunate position of the Mussulman population in Bulgaria, more especially at Rustchuk.

I beg to assure you that Her Majesty's Government are deeply interested in the welfare of the Mussulmans residing in the Principality, and have made frequent representations on their behalf through their Agent at Sophia.

I am happy to state that these representations have been received in the most friendly spirit by the Bulgarian Government, who have given strong assurances of their desire to afford adequate protection to the Mussulman population. There is good ground for hoping that an improvement in the condition of the Mussulmans will speedily result from the measures which have been promised.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 258.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

*Foreign Office, September* 13, 1880.

Sir,

I AM directed by Earl Granville to state to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that a telegram was received this morning from Captain Sale reporting his arrival at Ragusa and the delivery of his despatches to the Admiral.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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No. 259.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 14.)

(No. 137.)

*Sophia, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received from the Acting British Vice-Consul at Varna, reporting the arrival of about twelve Russian officers from Odessa, which would bring up the number of arrivals since the 5th ultimo to about thirty.

Mr. Brophy adds that the to-and-fro movement of Russian officers between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, both by sea and land, is greatly on the increase.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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Inclosure in No. 259.

*Acting Vice-Consul Brophy to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Varna, August* 27, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that yesterday arrived here from Odessa about twelve Russian officers, and these, together with small detachments weekly by the Russian steamer, will bring the number up to about thirty arrived since my last Report of the 5th August on the same subject.



No. 259*.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 14.)

(No. 138.)

*Sophia, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received from the Acting Vice-Consul at Varna, giving a translation of an extract from the "Varnenski Vestnik" of the $\frac{1}{13}$th August, in which it said that the Prince of Bulgaria, in replying to a deputation of Macedonians, stated that he considered Macedonia as a province of his own dominions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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Inclosure in No. 259*.

*Acting Vice-Consul Brophy to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Varna, August* 27, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to subjoin the following translation of a paragraph which appeared in the "Varnenski Vestnik" ("Varna Journal") of the $\frac{1}{13}$th August:—

"Last Friday, the 6th instant (o.s.), His Highness the Prince deigned to receive a deputation of Macedonians, at the head of which was M. V. Dianandries, President of the Bulgaro-Macedonian League, who has been stopping for some days past in our town.

"This deputation, which also handed a petition to His Highness, was graciously received. Among other paternal counsels, His Highness the Ruler of Bulgaria said that '*he considered Macedonia as a province of his own dominions.*'"

(This in italics in the original also.)

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. BROPHY.

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The gradation of ranks is now mostly from Sub-Lieutenant to full Colonel.

The to-and-fro movement of Russian officers between this Principality and Eastern Roumelia, both by sea and land, is greatly on the increase.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. BROPHY.

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No. 260.

*Mr. White to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 121.)
*Bucharest, September* 4, 1880.

My Lord,

AN unaccountable delay in carrying out the delimitation of the frontier between Roumania and Bulgaria in the neighbourhood of Silistria is being very much complained of at Bucharest.

The inconvenience arising from the delay in settling this question has been alluded to in my official correspondence with your Lordship's predecessor in office, and its evil results for the preservation of peace on the frontier and of good relations between the two neighbouring Principalities are quite obvious.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

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No. 261.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 326. Very Confidential.)
*Therapia, September* 6, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship copy and translation of a Report from the Austrian Consul-General at Philippopoli relative to the enlistment of Russian non-commissioned officers in the East Roumelian militia, which Baron Calice has communicated to me very confidentially.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 261.

*The Austrian Consul-General at Philippopoli to Baron Calice.*

*Austro-Hungarian Consulate-General, Philippopoli, August* 27, 1880.

(Translation.)

WITH reference to my Report of the 25th instant relative to the enlistment of Russian non-commissioned officers for the militia, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that on Tuesday evening, the 24th instant, twelve more Russian non-commissioned officers arrived here from Jamboli.

These officers are not supposed to belong to the body of non-commissioned officers that were officially enlisted by the Commandant of the militia. According to my information, they are the first of a lot of 121 non-commissioned officers who are to be sent from Russia.

It is said that they will arrive in small detachments, and that the consent of the Governor-General to their arrival, being considered unimportant, has not been considered.

I have the honour to report, moreover, that Colonel Sava Gruich, late Servian Minister for War, at present Diplomatic Agent at Sophia, has been staying at the Russian Consulate here since early the day before yesterday.

Prince Tzeretelew introduced him to the Governor-General, who informed me that Colonel Gruich intends to travel in the northern portion of the province and to go by Bourgas to Varna to visit Prince Alexander.

The Governor-General, with whom I lately spoke about the influx of Russian non-commissioned officers, informed me that he wished that the Porte would not leave this matter unnoticed.

He did not think it advisable to do more than make representations on the subject,

and to break openly with the Russian Representative by officially forbidding the arrival of the officers, in which case the Russian Representative would not fail to use his influence with the population in order to make him (the Governor-General) so unpopular as to force him to resign his post.

He said that it must not be thought that he cared to keep it at any price, but that he could not close his eyes to the fact that his successor, in order to assert himself, must, to judge by past experience, place himself entirely in the hands of the Russians, a course which will make matters worse.

Should the Porte intend to prevent the importation of Russian commissioned and non-commissioned officers, it would be well for it to represent to the Powers the threatening aspect of the policy of Russia, and to demand the observance of the conditions of Article 12, annex to Chapter 12, of the Organic Statute, especially as regards officers.

On these conditions he could refuse the admittance into the militia of any more Russian soldiers, and could oppose their being smuggled into the country.

The Governor-General expressed the wish that I should bring the above information to the knowledge of the Imperial Government.

I am writing in this sense to Vienna.

I have, &c.

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No. 262.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 328.)
My Lord,

*Therapia, September 6, 1880.*

IN your Lordship's despatch No. 378 your Lordship pointed out several advantages which might result to the Ottoman Government from the present position of affairs, if they would only avail themselves of that position. Your Lordship recurs to the self-denying Protocol, which has been accepted by the Powers in principle; and, further, your Lordship alludes to a proposed declaration, of which the object would be to prevent further concessions being demanded of the Ottoman Empire in favour of the minor States.

I presumed from the tenour of the despatch in question that these advantages were enumerated with a view of their being utilized as arguments to induce the Porte to change its attitude, but I was not clear upon the point as to whether the negotiations between the Cabinets with regard to them were sufficiently advanced to justify me in communicating them to the Porte. I accordingly asked your Lordship, by telegraph, whether I was authorized to state these proposals to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and your Lordship replied in the affirmative, provided my colleagues agreed.

I took an early opportunity of speaking to my colleagues on the subject, and I soon found that I could not obtain the necessary assent. They had no instructions which enabled them to assent to a communication being made to the Porte about the self-denying Protocol, and some had not received any information whatever as to the Protocol itself.

With regard to the declaration that no further concessions should be asked, most of my colleagues were still more in the dark; nor were they under the impression that a sufficiently definite proposal had been made as to the nature of the concessions to justify any statement being made. The Russian Ambassador was the first to state very categorically that he for one could not agree to any communication of the kind.

I felt sure that your Lordship would not wish me to press the point strongly, as it was clear that any statement about concessions would have to be at once very guarded and very vague.

It was pointed out to me that the word "concessions" was not limited by the adjective "territorial." I believe, however, that I am right in thinking that the declaration would, in fact, be limited to territorial concessions, as it would scarcely be safe to undertake that no other concessions would be demanded.

It is evident, I fear, that until the relations of the minor States to the Porte have been settled by time and circumstances, many difficult questions may from time to time arise.

I have since received a telegram from your Lordship asking me whether I had ascertained the position of my colleagues as to signing the self-denying Protocol. I was under the impression that the matter was still under the consideration of the Cabinets, nor did I know how the negotiations had terminated with regard to the proposed Austrian modifications of the text originally drafted by your Lordship.



I have spoken to all my colleagues, and in those cases where no instructions to sign had been received I have asked that they may be applied for by telegraph. The Representatives of Austria, France, and Italy have now received the necessary authority. The German and Russian Ambassadors have applied to their Governments.

With regard to the declaration as to no further concessions being asked for in favour of the minor States, little, if any, progress has been made as regards instructions to the Representatives of the Signatory Powers here.

I do not regard the question as very urgent. The best time to bring the matter forward would probably be the moment, if it should happily arrive, when the Porte is within a measurable distance of yielding to the Berlin Award, and when, with a little further pressure and some additional inducements, success might be achieved. In the present temper of the Porte the advantage of proposing such a declaration might be brown away.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 263.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 537.)
My Lord,

*Vienna, September 6, 1880.*

I LEARN that the Austrian Government are perplexed by reports which they have received both from St. Petersburgh and Constantinople to the effect that the Russian Government, after having intimated their willingness to agree to the proposed answer to the Porte already accepted by all the other Powers, have now withheld their consent, stating that the whole of the Duleigno arrangement, including the cession of Dinosi to Montenegro, as first settled, ought to be maintained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 264.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 540.)
My Lord,

*Vienna, September 7, 1880.*

I COMMUNICATED to M. de Kállay the substance of your Lordship's telegram No. 546 on the subject of the instructions proposed to be given by the French Government to their Admiral.

He told me that the French Chargé d'Affaires had spoken to him in reference to them; and that he had replied that, according to his estimation, the difference between the orders of the French and of the other Governments could not be regarded as unimportant or immaterial.

As, however, the instructions which have been agreed to by all the other Powers had been drawn up by Her Majesty's Government, after the adoption of certain modifications in their original draft, it would be right for the French Government to come to an understanding with them on the subject.

He has telegraphed to the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris in the same sense.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 265.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 544. Confidential.)
My Lord,

*Vienna, September 7, 1880.*

M. DE KÁLLAY spoke to me this afternoon about the instructions to Admiral Seymour, of which the draft was forwarded to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 575 for communication to the Austro-Hungarian Government, which he said agreed in all points except one with the modified draft that he had proposed.

As he had understood your Lordship to have accepted the Austrian modifications in full, he wished me to ascertain whether the omission of one line in them in the draft which I had communicated had been accidental or was intended.

The line to which he referred occurs in the last sentence but one in the instructions, where the words "then the action of the fleet is to be considered as terminated," which were in the Austrian draft, are not found in the English.

M. de Kállay appeared to attach considerable importance to the retention of the words.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 266.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 546. Confidential.)
*Vienna, September 9, 1880.*
My Lord,

M. DE KÁLLAY read to me this afternoon a telegram that he had just received from Count Khevenhüller, the Austro-Hungarian Agent and Consul-General in Bulgaria, in which he reported the Prince to have spoken to him of an application from the Eastern Roumelian Government for a loan from Bulgaria of 2,500,000 fr., which was being negotiated by M. Zancoff and the Roumelian Minister of Finance.

The Prince said that he was himself altogether opposed to complying with the application, but he had no doubt that, in spite of his objections, his Ministers would accede to it, and propose its adoption at a secret sitting of the Chamber, as had been done with regard to the former loan.

M. de Kállay observed that although this observation was at absolute variance with the assurances given the other day to Mr. Lascelles by M. Zancoff, its accuracy could not be called in question, as it came from the Prince himself.

He was convinced that an insurrectionary movement in Macedonia was the object for which the money was required, and, as the Bulgarian Government not only have none, but admit a deficit nearly equal to a fourth of their entire revenue, it was evident that the amount must be procured from some other quarter, and there was but one from whence it could be got.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 267.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 548.)
*Vienna, September 9, 1880.*
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople has been authorized to sign the self-denying Protocol, as well as the note upon the Asiatic reforms, in concert with his colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 268.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 550.)
*Vienna, September 9, 1880.*
My Lord,

I REPORTED to your Lordship, by my despatch No. 540, the language that had been held by M. de Kállay to the French Chargé d'Affaires respecting the instructions proposed by his Government for the guidance of the Admiral in command of their contingent in the naval demonstration.

I have now the honour to add that the French Government have been informed in addition that the Imperial Government having agreed to the instructions proposed by your Lordship, they could not now adopt any other.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 268*.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 552. Confidential.)
*Vienna, September 9, 1880.*
My Lord,

M. DE KALLAY, after mentioning the loan which Bulgaria seems about to make to Eastern Roumelia, took occasion to contrast the course which had been followed by the Powers towards Turkey and towards the Principality.

In the one case, he said, they were taking very extreme steps to enforce the execution of every part of the Treaty of Berlin, while in the other they had scarcely made a protest against an open disregard of it.

Bulgaria had hardly performed one of the obligations under which it stood by the Treaty, and was permitted to show a determination to defeat some of the most important of the arrangements deliberately made by Europe.

He proceeded to enumerate the various things that Bulgaria was bound to do, none of which had been performed. These were: the tribute to be paid to the Porte; the assumption of the share of the Turkish debt; the assumption of the Turkish engagements respecting the railways; the observance of the neutrality of the Danube, violated by the monitors kept upon it; and the non-demolition of the fortresses. To these might be added the treatment of the Mahommedan population.

M. de Kallay had, he said, lately spoken on the question of the fortresses to the Russian Ambassador, who excused the Bulgarian Government on the plea of their not having the money required for levelling them; but he had said that he could not accept this excuse when he saw them spending more than half the revenue of the Principality in preparing an army, which, by Treaty, ought to be only a militia, for defensive operations.

Now, he remarked to me, when double the money wanted for the demolition of the fortresses is required for designs against the Treaty arrangements, no difficulty is found; and Europe looks on in silence and apparent indifference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 269.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 554.)
*Vienna, September* 11, 1880.

My Lord,

AT a moment when Her Majesty's Government are exerting themselves so strenuously to maintain a common action of the Powers in regard to Eastern questions, it is essential that they should be thoroughly acquainted with the views of the other Governments with which they are acting.

It is my duty, therefore, to state to your Lordship my belief that there is a profound difference between the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government upon the principle which should guide the policy to be followed towards Turkey, and that which was so clearly laid down by Mr. Gladstone in his speech in the House of Commons on the 4th instant.

The Imperial Government will not, in my opinion, be brought to adopt the principle of the introduction of reforms into the administration of the Turkish Empire being the "primary" object to be kept in view.

With them the first consideration is the maintenance of the peace of Europe, and they do not believe that a sudden destruction of the Sultan's European Empire could take place without more danger to the general peace than they are ready to incur; and, dreading this catastrophe, while anxious to act with the other Powers as long as possible, they are not likely to be willing to join with them in measures which they consider likely to accelerate it.

I have already informed your Lordship that the Austrian Government have no sentimental affection for the Turks, and that they look upon the end of their rule in Europe as approaching, but that they consider the only safe course to follow is to allow the dissolution to take place gradually, and without the interference from without, which would bring the interests of different great Powers into collision.

They continue now to be of the same opinion as was entertained by all the Cabinets at the time of the Treaty of Paris, that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire is at present desirable; but they would, I am convinced, be ready to indorse Mr. Gladstone's observation that, unless the Porte tolerably discharged its administrative duties, its independence and integrity must learn to shift for themselves, provided that the expression means that no assistance is to be given to the Sultan against his discontented subjects, and does not contemplate foreign aid being given to the latter.

To this they would be entirely opposed. They have perfect faith in the disinterestedness of England, which is perhaps increased by the belief that a chivalrous interest in the subject races of Turkey leads Her Majesty's Government in a direction which is not considered here to be the most advantageous to ourselves; but the distrust entertained of Russia is deep-rooted and profound.

That the Russian Government, on the other hand, are influenced by anything but a desire to carry out the long cherished wish of obtaining a preponderating influence, and perhaps more, over the whole of South-Eastern Europe, is what few persons in Austria, and none in Hungary, could be brought to believe, and every act of Russia is looked upon as directed towards an end which is thought to be dangerous to this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 270.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 557.)
*Vienna, September* 11, 1880.

My Lord,

I INFORMED your Lordship by telegraph that M. de Kállay did not appear disposed to accede to the demand of the Prince of Montenegro reported in Mr. Green's telegram No. 95, that if the Turkish Government were prepared to surrender Dulcigno, the invitation to him to occupy it should be made through the Agents of the Powers.

He thought that the course agreed upon for carrying out the Corti arrangement would be the proper one to follow now, and that the notification of their readiness to evacuate should be made direct by the Turkish to the Montenegrin authorities.

It did not seem desirable for the Powers to be made parties to an invitation which might possibly lead to nothing, and leave them in an embarrassing position.

He only gave this as his personal impression, for Baron Haymerle had just returned, and he should ask him for his opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 271.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 844. Extender.)
*Paris, September 12, 1880.*

My Lord,

IN order to carry out the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 448 of 1 A.M. this morning, I communicated its substance to Baron de Courcel, and suggested that the French Government should send instructions to their Ambassador at Constantinople to join with his colleagues in firm and united language to the Porte with respect to the necessity of the immediate execution of its engagements in regard to the Montenegrin frontier.

M. de Courcel agreed to send the desired instructions to M. Tissot, and he also said he would instruct that Ambassador to concert with Mr. Goschen as to signing and presenting to the Porte the new collective note on the same subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 272.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 845. Confidential.)
*Paris, September 13, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 835 of the 9th instant, transmitting to your Lordship a copy of the definitive instructions dispatched to the French Admiral, Baron de Courcel has told me, confidentially, that copies of that document have been communicated to the French Ambassadors to the Great Powers for their information, but with no instructions to bring them to the knowledge of the Governments to which they are accredited.

He said to me yesterday that no other foreign Agent but myself had as yet requested to be furnished with a copy of these instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 273.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 11.)
(Telegraphic.) *Sophia, September 13, 1880, 3 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 10 of yesterday, M. Zancoff informs me that the Eastern Roumelian Director of Finance made an application for a loan directly to the Bank of Bulgaria, who submitted it to the Minister of Finance. The Council of Ministers have decided this shall not be made.

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No. 274.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)*

(No. 95.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September 14, 1880.*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs tells me that instructions have been sent to German Ambassador at Constantinople authorizing him to act with his colleagues on all points agreed upon by the Powers.

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No. 275.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14, 8·40 P.M.)*

(No. 224.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 14, 1880, 6 P.M.*

I HAD an audience of the Sultan to-day arranged for the purpose of presenting General Hamley, and also for presentation of map of Palestine, according to your Lordship's instructions in despatch No. 238.

After the formal business was concluded the Sultan entered on a long conversation, mainly relating to Dulcigno.

He explained that he had dismissed his Ministers because they had been incapable of bringing about a satisfactory solution. He carefully abstained from stating in what direction they had failed, but left me to infer a want of general capacity on their parts. He expressed himself as most anxious to find the means of surrendering Dulcigno peaceably, and stated the only way was for Europe to give a guarantee that no further sacrifices would be asked of Turkey in favour of Montenegro.

I replied that, if the line were agreed upon, I believed it very possible that the Powers would give a declaration that no more sacrifices would be asked; that it was the policy of England to press for a solution in order that the question might be finally closed; that it was accordingly quite within the limits of our policy to give assurances of an intention that the settlement should be final, provided the line of frontier were agreed on first.

Sultan stated that he had asked his late Ministers ten times to press for such a declaration, but in vain. He hoped England would aid him to procure such a declaration, which would assist him with his subjects. On this I brought His Majesty back to the line, and stated I knew that the Powers would not entertain the *status quo*. A concession as to Dinosi might be possibly made if Dulcigno were immediately ceded. His Majesty said he would ask Minister of War to see me as to the line.

It appears urgent that all Ambassadors should have immediate orders to assent to a declaration as to no more concessions being asked, provided Austrian line is at once accepted.

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No. 276.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14, 7 P.M.)*

(No. 225.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 14, 1880, 1·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 224, His Majesty made no allusion to the naval demonstration at my audience yesterday, beyond showing me a telegram from Riza Pasha, stating that the Albanians had come to the conclusion that the ships would do them no harm, and that accordingly they need not fear demonstration.

His Majesty dwelt strongly on necessity of settling Dulcigno surrender and arrangement east of lake simultaneously, as otherwise the mountaineers would assist the volunteers resisting at Dulcigno. I pressed Mr. Green's statement that the two questions were separate, but the Sultan insisted on the contrary. I gathered clearly from general conversation that the Porte would certainly not employ actual force. Sultan said he had sent Aide-de-camp day before yesterday to Scutari to persuade the Albanians.

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No. 277.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14, 7·44 P.M.)*

(No. 226.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 14, 1880, 1·45 A.M.*

AT audience yesterday I told Sultan that Europe would watch anxiously to see what effect the change of Ministry would have on the pending questions. His Majesty replied, somewhat evasively, that it was with a view to a satisfactory solution that the change was made.

I plainly stated that the new Premier was reported to be unfriendly to England. Sultan replied that Said Pasha was zealous for the welfare of Turkey, and therefore must be anxious for the friendship of England, but that the Turkish Government were looking



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with anxiety for a proof of English benevolence. I had been misinformed if I had been told the Premier was hostile to us.

His Majesty evidently wished very much to tone down impression which Said Pasha's nomination would naturally make.

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No. 278.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 14, 7·44 P.M.)

(No. 227.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 14, 1880, *noon.*

YOUR telegram No. 519.

Mr. Stephen telegraphs:—

"Neither the militia nor the reserves will be called out this year for the autumn manœuvres."

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No. 279.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.**

(No. 455.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1880, 7·20 P.M.

WITH reference to telegram No. 219 from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, repeated to you yesterday, suggest to Government to which you are accredited that it might be well that the Representatives at Constantinople should have the necessary authority to settle the terms of agreement respecting Montenegrin frontier with the Porte, and to sign a Protocol confirming it. The change of Government renders this step all the more desirable.

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No. 280.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 528.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1880, 7·40 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 224, I approve proposed official communication of my despatch No. 264.

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No. 281.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 455.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 315 of the 31st ultimo, inclosing a copy of a letter addressed to your Excellency, by the Sultan's commands, begging that instructions might be sent to Her Majesty's Consul at Scutari to facilitate the task confided to Riza Pasha and to the Governor-General of the vilayet with reference to the solution of the Montenegrin frontier question.

I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the reply you returned to Munir Bey, and, considering the reservations made by Abédine Pasha with regard to Dinosi, your having refrained from acting on His Majesty's suggestion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Mr. Macdonell (No. 577), Mr. Plunkett (No. 648), Mr. Kirby Green (No. 103), Lord Odo Russell (No. 532), Sir H. Elliot (No. 589).



No. 282.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 105.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 271 of the 24th ultimo, relative to the indifference shown by the Turkish authorities to the demonstrations made by the Albanians against the surrender of Dulcigno on the expiration of the time fixed for the cession in the collective note addressed to the Porte on the 3rd August, and, while concurring with your observations on the subject, I have to point out to you that the limit of three weeks granted to the Turks referred to the carrying out of the Corti Convention, and that no specific date was named in the collective note for the cession of Dulcigno.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 283.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 106.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1880.

I HAVE received the duplicate of your despatch No. 253 of the 16th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a *note verbale* from the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs in which his Excellency comments on the reported despatch to Scutari of the Seraskier Hussein Pasha for the settlement of the Frontier question, and objects to the elimination of Dinosi from the cessions to be made to the Principality under the Dulcigno arrangement.

I have to acquaint you that the reply you made to Voïvoda Radonich meets with the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 284.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.**

(No. 462. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1880.

I HAVE to request that you will suggest to the Government to which you are accredited that it is advisable that the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople should have authority to settle the terms of the formal Agreement respecting the Montenegrin frontier which should be concluded between the Porte and the Principality, and should be empowered to sign a Protocol confirming such Agreement, and accepting it as a substitute for the arrangement embodied in the Treaty of Berlin.

The uncertain effect of the recent change of Government at Constantinople renders it all the more desirable that the Ambassadors should have the authority I have suggested.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 285.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 15.)

(No. 278. Political.)
My Lord, *Cettinjé, September* 2, 1880.

HAVING informed the Montenegrin Minister, by telegraph, on the 29th ultimo, that I was anxious to send, by a secure means, an important communication which I was charged by your Lordship to make to Prince Nicholas, his Highness' steam-launch arrived at Scutari on the 31st, with a message urging me most strongly to proceed to Cettinjé, if

* Also to Mr. Macdonell, Mr. Adams, Sir H. Elliot, Lord Odo Russell, and Mr. Kirby Green.

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only for twenty-four hours, to enable the Prince to confer with me personally on pending affairs.

Under these circumstances, I felt bound to obey the Prince's summons, although my presence in Scutari was still almost indispensable.

I arrived here yesterday afternoon, and immediately saw His Highness, and inquired of him whether he would be prepared to send his troops to take possession of the town and district of Dulcigno, under the protection of the ships of war of the Powers, when he should be invited to do so. I explained to the Prince that this was a preliminary inquiry on the part of Her Majesty's Government to prevent unnecessary delay when the time arrived for action.

Prince Nicholas replied that I might assure Her Majesty's Government that he was prepared to place himself entirely under the direction of the Powers, and of none more so than Great Britain, which had given such proofs of its disinterested desire and intention to bring to a satisfactory termination the difficulties which had been weighing upon Montenegro for the last five years.

On my rising to withdraw, His Highness begged me to defer until the evening telegraphing to your Lordship the above reply, as he wished first to have it approved of by his Ministers.

In the evening, I was invited to take tea at the Palace, where a party was collected in honour of the four eldest Princesses of Montenegro, who are about to return to-day to Russia, to resume the course of their education, and with which the Emperor has charged himself. Prince Nicholas here took an opportunity of reading me the reply which, he said, he and his Ministers had formulated with reference to my communication.

I asked His Highness whether he wished me to interpret this written reply as modifying in any way the sense of that he had given me verbally earlier in the day, and he answered, "Certainly not." The Prince left with me the paper, of which I have the honour to furnish herewith a copy, on the understanding that it was merely an amplification of his statement that he would abide by the wishes of the Powers.

This morning, prior to leaving again for Scutari, I have had the honour of a further interview with His Highness, and having inquired whether he wished to modify in any way what had passed between us yesterday, he has repeated his readiness to place himself completely at the disposal of the Governments of Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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Inclosure in No. 285.

*Note handed by Prince Nicholas to Mr. Kirby Green.*

Si le Commandant de la Flotte réunie sera en état de garantir que les autorités Turques effectueront la remise de Dulcigno pacifiquement, le Monténégro pourra être prêt dans huit jours à partir du moment où il aura reçu l'invitation d'occuper cette ville ainsi que le district.

Dans le cas contraire, si la remise pacifique était douteuse ou impossible, le Monténégro devra avant d'agir ou de dépasser ses frontières du côté de Dulcigno, se conformer avec l'état des choses en Albanie et peser la situation sur le reste de sa frontière. Il ne pourra dans cette occurrence répondre affirmativement que selon les circonstances, car dans cette seconde hypothèse il lui faudrait nécessairement du temps pour se préparer.

*Cettinjé, le* $\frac{21 \text{ Août}}{1 \text{ Septembre}}$ 1880.

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No. 286.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)*

(No. 279. Political. Confidential.) *Cettinjé, September* 2, 1880.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 278 of to-day's date, I think it right to add to your Lordship that, notwithstanding the very satisfactory tone of the intercourse between Prince Nicholas and myself, I observed that Voivode Radonich, who is entirely under the influence of M. Youine, the Russian Minister, and Signor Durando, my Italian colleague, who also has always followed similar inspirations, are pleased to express the greatest incredulity in the possibility of bringing to a satisfactory termination the Dulcigno arrangement.

Signor Durando has also stated to me his conviction that the naval demonstration will only result in making patent the impossibility of the Great Powers acting in concert.

From M. Youine I have only heard the belief that the Turkish Government has no intention of submitting until force is used; but his Secretary of Legation, M. Speyer, told me this morning that I might depend upon it the Prince of Montenegro would refuse to place the life of a single Montenegrin in danger, and, as Dulcigno could not be had in a peaceable manner, Montenegro would leave the question of its Albanian frontiers open until European complications arose afresh, and left her a freer field for the use of her strength.

To all these discouraging observations and criticisms I have merely returned the reply, that I have to congratulate myself on always finding Prince Nicholas' assurances as satisfactory as they are diametrically opposed to the rumours to be heard around him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 287.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)*

(No. 850. Confidential.) *Paris, September* 14, 1880.

My Lord,

BARON DE COURCEL told me confidentially this morning that M. Tissot had telegraphed to his Government that the foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople were discontented with the change of Ministry there, but that there was one good result to be expected from it, as they would at least now know where the real responsibility lay, viz., with the Sultan or with Saïd Pasha, who had been pulling the strings, and been the chief adviser and confidant of His Majesty without holding any office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 288.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)*

(No. 98.) *Scutari, September* 14, 1880.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your telegram No. 85 of the 9th instant, I have received a note from the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated yesterday, that the Montenegrin troops are already concentrated at Sutorman, above Antivari, ready to advance on the first notice.

This notification, the Minister for Foreign Affairs states, is awaited with the greatest impatience, as prolonged delay might, the season being so advanced, interfere in the naval demonstration and bring on the Principality serious financial difficulties.

With regard to the concession required of Montenegro about Dinosi, its Government hopes it has been merely made to secure a peaceful surrender of Dulcigno, and it trusts the Powers will not listen to any further attempts to obtain other advantages, as the Porte is really only trying to gain time in order to favour its own ends.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 289.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 15.)*

(No. 99.) *Scutari, September* 14, 1880.

(Telegraphic.)

RIZA PASHA called on me this afternoon expressly to tell me that he would have every hope of speedily compassing the surrender of Dulcigno if the Italian Consul here did not interfere with his action. Riza Pasha asserts that the Consul is in secret communication with the inhabitants of the town, assuring them that they have nothing to fear from the naval demonstration, and assisting them to draw up petitions and protests.

The Pasha asked me to get these proceedings stopped, but he admitted he had no other proof of their existence but the assertions of the Mahommedans who were influenced by them.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 290.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 15, 7·40 P.M.)

(No. 168.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 15, 1880, 5·45 P.M.

BARON JOMINI says that he is sure that M. de Giers will agree to both proposals made in your telegrams 640 and 648, but orders in these matters are sent from Livadia direct to M. de Novikoff, and are often only communicated here some time afterwards.

He must therefore reserve his official answer till he hears from Livadia.

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No. 291.

*Consul Reade to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 15, 8·39 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Corfu, September* 15, 1880, 2·35 P.M.

TURKISH frigate "Izedin," with Aide-de-camp of the Sultan on board, after coaling here, proceeded to Dulcigno.

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No. 292.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 529.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880, 7·45 P.M.

YOUR No. 217.

The draft communicated in my No. 452 was a translation of the Austrian proposal communicated by Austrian Chargé d'Affaires on the 31st August, which must be taken as the authentic version, and may be considered as final.

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No. 293.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 104. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880, 7·50 P.M.

MR. MACDONELL having, by some mistake, allowed the Italian Government to understand that the reports he had mentioned as to the language held by Italian Agents at Scutari and Ragusa came from you, I have thought it best to tell the Italian Ambassador the truth, namely, that the reports had reached me from an independent source, that I had inquired of you whether you had noticed any foundation for them, and that you had, in reply, stated what is contained in your telegram No. 93.

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No. 294.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 459.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 287, Confidential, of the 31st ultimo, stating that, in reply to Munir Bey's request for an explanation of the present attitude of this country towards Turkey, you had assured him of your desire to see the Sultan yourself on the subject, and that you had impressed upon Abédine Pasha the



necessity of His Majesty being made fully acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the policy which he should pursue in the interest of his Empire.

I have to express my approval of your Excellency's proceedings, as reported in the above-mentioned despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 295.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 460.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

I HAVE to call your Excellency's attention to Mr. Stephen's despatch No. 325, Confidential, of the 27th ultimo, from which it appears that a contract has been sanctioned by the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for the engagement of thirty-eight Russian sergeants, to take service in the East Roumelian Militia, and that General Strecker has been negotiating with the Russian Military Attaché at Philippopoli for the engagement of 111 Russian non-commissioned officers, who are to take the place of native non-commissioned officers whose period of service has expired, and who have been refused readmission into the service, in order to make way for the Russians. Mr. Stephen also reports that steps are being taken, at the instigation of the Russian Military Attaché and of General Strecker, to fill high military appointments with Russian officers to the exclusion of other foreigners.

I have to request your Excellency to instruct Mr. Stephen to make a formal representation to the Governor-General in regard to these proceedings, which are distinctly in opposition to the spirit of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and may be considered as an attempt to evade its provisions.

I inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh on the subject.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 296.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 464.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

HER Majesty's Consul in Crete has informed me of the success of the mission of Photiades Bey to Constantinople in securing the sanction of the Porte to the important laws lately passed by the General Assembly. I have to request your Excellency to express the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have received the announcement of the Sultan's approval of these measures, which they trust will have the effect of securing order and contentment in the island.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 297.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 467.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

IN his despatch No. 329 of the 28th ultimo, Mr. Stephen gives an account of a Society which has been formed at Philippopoli in aid of the Bulgarians of Macedonia, and Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that your Excellency should approve Mr. Stephen for the advice he gave to M. Tonguroff to urge his brethren in Macedonia not to listen to the counsels of the Agents of an Association which, to judge from the language reported to have been held at the meeting, would only involve the inhabitants of Macedonia in misery and bloodshed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 301.

No. 298.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 469. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

Sir,

IN reply to the inquiry contained in your telegram No. 217 of the 12th instant, as to whether the draft collective note transmitted to your Excellency in my telegram No. 452 of the 31st ultimo may be considered as the text ultimately adopted, I have to state that it was a translation of the Austro-Hungarian proposal communicated on that day, which must be taken as the authentic version, and may be considered as final.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 299.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 109. Confidential. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

Sir,

BY some mistake Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Rome has allowed the Italian Government to conclude that the reports he had mentioned with regard to the language held by Italian Agents at Scutari and Ragusa had originated with you. I have, therefore, explained to the Italian Ambassador what really took place, viz., that having received reports from an independent source as to the attitude of certain Italian agents, I had inquired whether anything had come under your notice tending to substantiate what had been alleged, and that you had informed me in reply that the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in Montenegro had stated to you that he did not believe that the naval demonstration would come to anything, or that affairs in that part of the world would be settled for another two years, and that the Italian Consul at Scutari held somewhat similar language.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 300.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.**

(No. 459.)

*Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople with regard to the steps to be taken to obtain the promulgation of the Project of Law which has been elaborated by the Eastern Roumelian Commission.†

I have to request that you will communicate the substance of Mr. Goschen's despatch to the Government to which you are accredited, and ask that the [ ] at Constantinople may be authorized to discuss with his colleagues the course that should be pursued to prevail upon the Porte to put the new Statute in force.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 301.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.*

(No. 460.)

*Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

Sir,

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Philippopoli relative to the engagement of large numbers of Russian non-commissioned officers to serve in the East Roumelian Militia, and I have to request you to call the attention of the Russian Government to the part which appears to have been taken by the Russian Military Attaché in promoting this arrangement, and to the attempts made to fill the higher military appointments in East Roumelia with Russian officers, to the exclusion of other foreigners.

* Similar despatches were addressed to Mr. Adams, Mr. Macdonell, Sir H. Elliot, and Lord Odo Russell.

† No. 121.



These proceedings appear to Her Majesty's Government to be in direct opposition to the spirit of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

I inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Goschen on the subject."

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 302.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.*

(No. 116.)

*Foreign Office, September* 15, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE received, through Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, Mr. Vice-Consul Dalziel's despatch No. 34 to yourself of the 19th ultimo. Her Majesty's Government regret to learn from Mr. Dalziel's Report, that during the last twelve months no progress has been made in the demolition of the fortifications of Shumla, which by Article XI of the Treaty of Berlin were required to be raised within two years' time from the ratification of that Treaty; and I have to instruct you to call the attention of the Bulgarian Government to the omission to comply with the terms of that Article, not only in the case of Shumla, but also in regard to the other fortresses in Bulgaria, where little or nothing has been done to carry out the work of demolition.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 303.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 16.)

(No. 292.)

*Athens, September* 8, 1880.

My Lord,

THE recruits for the Greek army continue to come in satisfactorily, and at this moment amount to 27,000, all of whom are being actively drilled.

The classes which can be called upon in accordance with the Decree of mobilization will furnish, it is calculated, 45,000 men, and in addition to these there is a further reserve of 15,000 or 20,000 soldiers who have been trained and can be called out shortly before their services are required; these together would form an army of about 60,000 men.

A further levy of men between the ages of 32 and 40 would provide from 55,000 to 60,000 for home service.

I observed to M. Tricoupi to-day that the expense of so large a force, if it had to be kept up for any length of time, would be terribly onerous for the finances of the country. He said that it was to be hoped that the new provinces would be made over to Greece before the winter, but that even if the country was obliged to keep 60,000 men with the colours during the winter it could find the means for doing so. It was calculated that 1,000 men, exclusive of officers, would cost 450,000 drachmas a-year; thus 60,000 men would cost about 27,000,000, and for four or five months about 9,000,000 or 10,000,000.

As, however, it would be necessary to keep embodied only the men under training, about 45,000, the expense would be for four or five months from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000, which M. Tricoupi thought was a burden the country could easily bear.

The matériel for such an army, including horses, ammunition, clothing, &c., for the same period, about 22,000,000.

The Government had contracted a loan for one year of 15,000,000 fr., and they had 10,000,000 fr. remaining from the former loan of 60,000,000, and therefore sufficient resources to keep up the army until the early spring. The Government were in negotiation for a further loan of 80,000,000 fr. to repay the 15,000,000 borrowed and meet the other expenses connected with the occupation of the new provinces. It was not intended, however, to conclude any arrangement for this loan until just before the meeting of the Chamber, whose ratification of it would be necessary.

I think M. Tricoupi has always been disposed to take a somewhat sanguine view of the position of this country as regards its financial resources, and at this moment he is rather inclined to look lightly on all financial obstacles if only he can succeed in procuring the annexation of the provinces which Greece considers as having been adjudged to her.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

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* No. 295.

No. 304.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 16.)*

(No. 293.) *Athens, September 9, 1880.*

My Lord,

IN answer to an inquiry I addressed to M. Tricoupi as to whether the Porte had made any observations to the Greek Government in consequence of the mobilization of the Greek army, he said that as far as he knew the Turkish Government had taken no notice of the preparations now going on here for the future occupation of Epirus and Thessaly, and he added that the Ottoman Chargé d'Affaires at Athens had said that he considered these preparations quite natural under the circumstances.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

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No. 305.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 16.)*

(No. 345.) *Therapia, September 10, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 304 of the 30th ultimo on the subject of Mr. Consul-General Blunt's despatch No. 137, Confidential, of the 16th August, relative to the establishment of Vice-Consulates in the Vilayets of Monastir and Cossova, I have taken the opportunity of consulting Mr. Consul St. John on the advisability of sending some trustworthy person to visit that portion of the country, as proposed by Mr. Blunt, and he has drawn up the memorandum of which a copy is inclosed herewith.

Mr. St. John is against such a course, believing it to be fraught with danger, and not likely to result in much good as regards the collection of valuable information.

In the towns themselves, such as Monastir and Prisrend, a Vice-Consul might be safe enough; but he could not travel in safety much beyond the town, and in the town itself he would encounter the same class of difficulty in obtaining information as that which Mr. Blunt himself described in his despatch as preventing news being transmitted to him. The natives would be afraid to visit him. He would be under constant surveillance, and every one communicating with him might be in personal danger.

Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to recommend the appointment of Vice-Consuls at Monastir or Pristina at present.

The case would be different if there were English interests which it would be our duty to protect, or if it were probable that information of great and decided value could be gained, which could be turned to advantage in the solution of the grave questions which now occupy the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 305.

*Memorandum.*

HAVING been requested to give my opinion whether it would be advisable to send Vice-Consuls to Monastir and Pristina, or a person to visit and report on passing events in the Vilayets of Monastir and Cossova, I beg to state that, under existing circumstances, were such a course adopted, it would, I think, be fraught with danger not only to the persons charged with such a mission, but also to any natives employed by them for the purpose of collecting information.

At present all strangers undertaking a journey in that country are jealously watched by the Albanian League, who, encouraged by the Turkish Government, are even ready to arrest a native Christian, or, indeed, Mussulman, suspected of giving any kind of information.

During my residence at Prisrend I had occasion to send a cavass on such an errand. Though a native and a Christian, it was with the greatest reluctance that his co-religionists consented to impart anything concerning atrocities committed upon them. It would, therefore, be almost impossible for a stranger, though on the spot, to acquire, without the assistance of a native, information which, after all, would scarcely be worth the risk that was run in obtaining it.



As an instance, I may mention the case of the Orthodox Greek schoolmaster at Prisrend, who, having voluntarily attempted to get me and my colleagues information, was most arbitrarily and illegally arrested by the Albanian League, and condemned to imprisonment and many years' exile by the Government.

The present deplorable state of that country has been fully described to Her Majesty's Government, and therefore, until a remedy can be devised, I see no practical advantage in bringing to light further instances of persecution.

Limited interference would only tend to increase the existing animosity towards the Christians, and thereby aggravate their already difficult position.

(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

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No. 306.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 16.)*

(No. 346.) *Therapia, September 10, 1880.*

My Lord,

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 359 of the 9th August, in which your Lordship is good enough to state the line of conduct which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, I should pursue with reference to the treatment of Mussulmans in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

Your Lordship calls my attention to the fact that all the Powers who are parties to the Treaty of Berlin are equally bound to carry out its provisions, and that there is no special reason why Her Majesty's Government should always be put forward to complain of the misconduct of the Bulgarian and Roumelian authorities, or of Russian officers.

I will not fail, as far as it is possible, to carry out your Lordship's view that it is desirable to avoid these questions being allowed to become matters of discussion between Russia and England, and that I should ascertain what are the views of my other colleagues in regard to these subjects, and act with them in any communications which I may have to make to the Porte.

At the same time, I venture to point out to your Lordship that the execution of these instructions will be attended with some difficulty. Her Majesty's Government took the initiative in making inquiries as to the condition of the Moslem population in Eastern Roumelia, and the prosecution of such an investigation was amongst the earliest instructions which I received on my arrival here.

Further, the Reports of our Consuls have been made public, and there can be no doubt that we have become more or less identified with action in the direction of remonstrance against the persecution of the minority of Moslems and Greeks in the newly-constituted States. It is clear too, I think, that great advantage has been derived from the steps taken by England in this matter. There can be no doubt but that the attitude of the authorities in Eastern Roumelia, and even that of the population, towards the minority has much improved during the last six months. It is probable that the improvement was due in part to the persistent watchfulness of Consul-General Michell. The authorities were put on their guard, and they knew that all their proceedings would be made public in very plain terms. But the attitude taken up by Her Majesty's present Government on their accession to power is admitted nearly on all hands to have been one of the causes of a better spirit being shown by the Eastern Roumelian Government. When they saw that statesmen, whom they know to be friendly towards them, were not disposed to be blind to the faults which they committed, but, on the contrary, considered that, in the interest of these rising populations themselves, the Roumelian authorities must prove before Europe that they were capable of showing moderation and self-restraint, they appear to have made efforts, which they previously refused to make, to check the abuses which were too prevalent before.

But the remarkable despatch from Colonel Wilson, which I inclose to-day, shows what is still the state of things in some of the remoter districts, and to what class of men the Government of the province have, in some instances, confided power and authority.

It is difficult, in the face of such a description as Colonel Wilson gives, to abstain from strong language of remonstrance; but it is certain that it will not be possible to obtain the concurrence of Russia in the use of such language.

Apart from the despatches of Colonel Wilson, it is impossible to forget that the results of the Kirdjali and Aïdos inquiries have been most unsatisfactory. It is a remarkable fact that the Eastern Roumelian Government have not thought themselves strong enough to issue any General Order condemning the action of the militia at Kirdjali, and no public notice has been given of the dismissal of the Russian officers.

The Government of the province will not face the unpopularity of any step, however mild, in condemnation of the action of the militia and its officers, and it is much to be wished, not only in the interests of justice, but in the interests of order, that the Powers could be brought to put pressure on the Eastern Roumelian authorities, with a view to the punishment of offenders, and to the dismissal of such men as Colonel Wilson describes as in office in the district of Bourgas. But nothing can be done in this respect unless England takes the initiative. I should be supported by some of my colleagues if I were to endeavour to cause remonstrances to be made; but the antagonism of Russia would be so great that it would cause others among my colleagues to hold aloof, and the result would be, as your Lordship foresees, that we might be divided on this question into two parties, one under the leadership of England, the other under that of Russia.

Under these circumstances, I feel that my instructions scarcely allow me to move in the matter beyond sounding my colleagues as to their views. But even on this I should be very guarded, as it would not be wise to show how strong the case is for remonstrance, if we are not prepared to go forward with remonstrance.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Organic Statute is constantly violated in many of its most important Articles. I have had the opportunity of conversing with several persons who have an intimate personal knowledge of its working, and who have pointed out to me many Articles in succession the provisions of which are constantly set aside.

Indeed, the authorities, I believe, themselves admit that some of the Articles must be revised, as they are incapable of execution under present circumstances. I have not addressed your Lordship at any length on this subject, as it is clear that while there are so many urgent questions occupying the attention of the Powers, no one would be disposed to consider so delicate and intricate a subject as the revision of the Government of Eastern Roumelia, though it is a matter with which, at some period or another, it will certainly be necessary to deal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 306.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson to Mr. Goschen.*

(Very Confidential.)

*Buyukdéré, September 4*, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to that portion of your Excellency's despatch of the 30th June last which draws my special attention to the Reports which have been furnished by Her Majesty's Consul at Bourgas upon the country within his Consular jurisdiction, and directs me to furnish a full account of the condition of that district, I have the honour to state that I found the condition of the Department of Bourgas much worse, in every respect, than that of any other department in Eastern Roumelia.

The Moslems and Greeks are more numerous and compact in the Department of Bourgas than elsewhere, and if the spirit of the Organic Statute were followed, they would fill a very large number of the official posts. To counteract this strong non-Bulgarian element in the population, the Bulgarians appear to have resorted to violent measures, which have been and still are the cause of much suffering and misery amongst the Moslem population.

Greater resistance has been offered to the return of the Moslems in the Department of Bourgas than in any other, and a far smaller proportion of the refugees have been able to regain possession of their lands and houses. In some villages the Moslems have been shut up in their houses whilst armed parties of Bulgarians went about robbing and firing their rifles into the houses. Murders, robberies, and torture with heated chains have frequently been committed on Moslems by Bulgarians, whilst there has been an almost entire absence of punishment or of any serious attempt to repress disorder. It seemed to me that there had been a deliberate attempt to intimidate the Moslems, with a view



of driving them from the country and preventing their repatriation. The Bulgarians were said at the same time to have forced the villagers, by threats, to give petitions and certificates in their favour, or to attach their seals to blank papers which were afterwards filled in from a Bulgarian point of view.

The relations between the Bulgarians and Moslems were described to me by a foreign officer of gendarmes as being those of almost open war, but I believe there has been a considerable improvement since the Aïdos or Anchialo-Missivria affair in the Balkans. There appeared to be so much excitement amongst Bulgarians, Greeks, and Moslems, that I considered it unadvisable to do anything which might lead to a political demonstration.

I received, however, petitions from Moslems and Greeks, and, in several places, had an opportunity of seeing the wretched condition of the Moslems. The ill-treatment of the Moslems, and the injustice of the Courts towards the Greeks and Moslems, were brought to my notice by foreign officers in Government employ, by Bulgarians, by Greeks, and by the Agents of the European Powers at Bourgas. I inclose notes of some of the statements made to me.

The general opinion appeared to be that the state of the department was due to four men—Vodincharoff, Judge of the Criminal Court of the Department, and President of the Council-General; Kojoucharoff, Bailli of the Canton of Karnabad; Brakaloff, nephew of M. Yaneoloff, the Préfet; and Captain Popovitch, commanding the gendarmerie of Karnabad.

I attach a paper giving the previous career of these men. Vodincharoff is the person in consequence of whose appointment M. Schmidt resigned his position as Director of Finance. M. Schmidt informs me that when his name was brought forward at a meeting of the Privy Council he protested against his nomination, and that M. Christovitch also said there were accusations of murder against him. The Privy Council decided against his appointment, yet six days afterwards he was appointed by Aleko Pasha. M. Schmidt remonstrated with the Governor-General; but, finding his remonstrance had no effect, resigned. Vodincharoff, as President of the Council-General of Bourgas, refused in course language to allow discussions in Bulgarian to be translated into Turkish, and would not permit any Moslem petitions to be received by the Council. The Russian Vice-Consul told me that he had asked the Russian Consul-General at Philippopoli to press for his removal.

M. Schmidt expressed much surprise when I mentioned that Brakaloff was at Bourgas, and told me that he personally knew of his defalcations at Anchialo, that his extradition had been demanded from Bulgaria, and that on his failure to appear he had been outlawed. I find that as long ago as the 6th May, 1879, Mr. A. G. Brophy reported from Varna that Brakaloff was ordering the Moslems in the Balkan villages to leave the country.

Captain Popovitch is the officer of gendarmes whose conduct in the Aïdos affair I have alluded to in my despatch of the 27th August.

Whilst at Karnabad I was waited upon by a deputation of Moslems, who presented me with a paper in which the conduct and character of the Bailli, M. Kojoucharoff, were highly praised. The paper was dated the 10th July, or nearly two weeks before my arrival at Karnabad, and the act was so unusual that my suspicions with regard to the genuineness of the document were aroused. These suspicions were confirmed by a petition which was secretly conveyed to me just before my departure; in this petition the unfortunate condition of the Moslems was described, and said to be due to the action of the Bailli and the Cantonal Judge. The statements in the petition agreed generally with those made to me afterwards by the officer commanding the gendarmerie at Anchialo. I may add that I was told that a Moslem villager, who complained to me that his village mosque was still being used as a church by the Bulgarians, and whose complaint I referred to the Bailli, was abused and threatened by that official when he presented himself.

The complaints of the Greeks and Moslems with regard to their share of appointments in the gendarmerie, the administrative services, in the Law Courts, on the Councils-General, &c., have been alluded to in a previous despatch.

The position of the minorities in regard to these appointments is far worse in Bourgas than in the other departments. The want of consideration shown to the Greeks is well exemplified by the Bailli of Anchialo, who was, though a high official, summarily arrested in a shop at Anchialo, and treated with great roughness by the gendarmes. The Bailli was taken to his house, and no one was allowed to enter, even with food, for more than twenty-four hours, when his release was obtained by the action of the Austrian and English Vice-Consuls at Bourgas. The former went personally to

the Procureur-Général, and forced him to proceed at once to Anchialo. The Bailli was arrested a second time in a somewhat similar manner, and again released.

The action of the Criminal Court at Bourgas is spoken of unfavourably by every one, and even the Civil Court, which has a better reputation, is very dilatory when mixed cases come before it. A simple land case, in which a returned refugee wished to obtain possession of his property from a Bulgarian occupant, lasted from the 8th April to the 10th August, when it was settled in consequence of some strong remarks which I made to some of the officials.

The Moslems and Greeks have good cause to complain of the want of public security. Little attempt is made to discover the perpetrators of crimes when they are supposed to be Bulgarians, and if discovered, they are either lightly punished or acquitted. Three cases which occurred shortly before my visit may be mentioned; in the first, two women, a man, and a boy were coming down the hill to Bulundjik with an araba, when five shots were suddenly fired at them by Bulgarians, and one of the women was killed. A gendarme afterwards came to the place with an officer of the Court, but they made no attempt to discover the murderers, and, after a short consultation, went away.

On arriving at Anchialo I found the Cantonal Judge and others starting out to examine the body of a murdered man, supposed to be a Western European, which had been discovered near the village of Erketch. In the conversation which I had with these gentlemen they seemed far more anxious to prove that the man had been killed a long time ago by brigands than to discover the real murderers.

In the third instance, a Russian officer of militia, Lieutenant Nobrikoff, was robbed by three men (said to be a Bulgarian, a Greek, and a Moslem) on his way from Bourgas to Aïdos. He then went on to command a detachment in the Balkans, sending word to Bourgas that he would soon be heard of. A few days before I reached Bourgas he reported to the Procureur-Général that he had taken five Moslems, and that as they had tried to escape the militia, had shot them. No names were given, nor was any information sent as to the nature of the crimes of which the Moslems were accused. The Procureur-Général did not consider it part of his duty to make any inquiry.

The state of the Anchialo-Missivria Balkans has been alluded to in my despatch of the 27th August. I will only remark here that on the 28th May of last year Mr. A. G. Brophy called attention to the action of the Bulgarians of Erketch and Sujulu, two villages which acquired an evil reputation during the Balkan disturbances of this year, and that M. Petroff, a late Préfet of Bourgas, spoke in strong terms of what had taken place in the Balkans during the last two years. Some of the authorities appear to have taken advantage of pretended insurrections to send out the gymnasts to destroy Moslem villages.

At the time of my visit there was a detachment of militia at the Bulgarian village of Erketch, whilst in the surrounding Moslem villages there were about six isolated boy gendarmes. The result was that the Bulgarians were efficiently protected, whilst the Moslems were not. It must not be forgotten, however, that there are Moslem bandits in the Balkans, discharged soldiers or refugees, who, finding their houses destroyed on their return, have taken to the mountains. These men would gladly leave the country if given a safe-conduct to the coast. It is also said that the Moslems have 2,000 Martini-Peabodys in the Balkans, but I think the number exaggerated.

I found much misery amongst the Moslems whose villages had been burned in the Balkans, especially amongst the people of Karamanja and Aivadjik, who were collected at Anchialo and other places in a state of absolute want. These unfortunate people placed themselves under the protection of Sergeant Grigor, of the gendarmerie, who, after taking 35*l.* from them, handed them over to two servants of Brakaloff's at Guzek. These men took the villagers to Bania-Iskelessi, where they robbed them, and then sent them on to Eminé. I attach a statement of this case, which the Commission refused to investigate thoroughly, though pressed to do so by Colonel Borthwick. The villagers were allowed to cut their crops which are in Bulgaria (the village is in Eastern Roumelia), but when they went to remove them they were prevented from doing so by gendarmes from Varna, though they were accompanied by an Eastern Roumelian gendarme. Their animals, &c., are in the hands of the Bulgarians, but they have been unable to obtain any redress from the Local Government; and the Commission, in awarding compensation, appears to have adopted the plan of leaving Moslem property in the possession of Bulgarians, and assessing its value at a very low rate.

As far as I could judge, public security appeared to be greatest in the Canton of Aïdos, where the Bailli and Captain of gendarmes are Moslems, and the officer commanding the militia an active intelligent Bulgarian, who had been born in Roumania, and served in the Roumanian army. In this canton alone has the Government proceeded to



evict Bulgarian refugees from Adrianople who had established themselves in Moslem houses. The wives of the refugees complained to me of the manner in which they had been treated; but I did not find that the evictions had been carried out with any harshness, and quarters had been temporarily provided for the Bulgarians in the town.

In conclusion, I would beg to state that I examined the Reports furnished by Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Bourgas, and found that the information contained in them agreed generally with that which I received from independent sources. In writing of events which occurred in the Balkans and at other distant points, Mr. Brophy has sometimes made mistakes with regard to details, but his errors are those which might naturally be expected to occur in the correspondence of a Consul who had not personally visited the ground. Mr. Brophy's Reports are often strongly worded—murders and robberies are called atrocities and outrages; and his remarks are not always such as are usual in official correspondence; but there can be no doubt that the treatment of the Moslems in the Bourgas Department has at times been very bad, and that Mr. Brophy has often had good cause to complain of the inaction of the Local Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 306.

*Memorandum of Statements made by various persons on the Condition of the Department of Bourgas.*

(Very Confidential.)

THE Russian Vice-Consul at Bourgas said that the Bulgarians are quite unaccustomed to the art of governing; they generally erred through ignorance, but very often through "mauvaise volonté." He considered the Judge of the Civil Court a good man, but slow; he complained much of the conduct of Vodinicharoff, Judge of the Criminal Court, and stated that he had written to Philippopoli about him, and urged his removal. He said the Préfet, M. Yancoloff, was "bon camarade," but weak and easily led by the intriguers who surrounded him, especially by his nephew Brakaloff. The Préfet had behaved very badly in the Aïdos affair, but had done so at the instigation of Vodinicharoff. He expressed his belief that the gendarmes were too young; commented unfavourably on General Strecker's action with regard to the gendarmerie, and said that he thought the only way of quieting the Balkans was to disarm the Bulgarian villagers. He thought the number of outrages on Moslems by Bulgarians had been exaggerated and that an improvement had taken place during the last two months.

The Austrian Vice-Consul remarked on the bad state of the Department of Bourgas, and mentioned several cases in which Moslems had been unfairly treated in the Courts; kept out of their houses and lands, and ill-treated by Bulgarians. He described the steps which he had taken to obtain the release from arrest of the Bailli of Anchialo, and the position in which he found that official when he went to Anchialo with Mr. Brophy. He also spoke strongly with regard to the actions of Vodinicharoff and Brakaloff. Herr von Adelberg mentioned that the militia had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the Balkans.

The French Vice-Consul confirmed generally the bad condition of the Department and the evil influence exercised by the men named above.

The Russian officer commanding the militia thought it was unwise to have detachments of militia in the Balkans as he could not look after them, and it was difficult to find them food. He had no pay for his men, having only received 13,000 piastres out of 112,000 piastres due to him, and though he had written to explain how necessary it was that young troops should be paid, he had received no answer. Some of the men had no boots nor great coats, and the Supply Department was badly managed; under these circumstances he could not prevent pilfering, though he did his best to stop it. Last winter when the militia were billeted on the people no fuel was issued, and the men, in spite of all his efforts, broke down garden palings and stole wood from the houses in Bourgas to light their fires. He thought the Bulgarians would in time make good soldiers, and considered them much better than the Servians.

M. Ivan Petroff, formerly Préfet of Bourgas, said that matters were not going on well in the province, and that many disorders occurred in the Balkans which were not known in Europe. He complained of the gendarmes who were badly selected, were too young, and followed the example of the old Turkish zaptiehs; they robbed and bullied the people, and beat the "maires" of the villages who had not risen above the position of Mukhtar.

There has never been any revolt in the Balkans, only a few brigands; the occurrences there were magnified by the gendarmes for their own profit. The Civil Court worked well but was very slow in consequence of the inexperience of the Judge and his desire to do what was right. The Criminal Court was bad and criminals were not punished; this was the fault of the Judge. Vodincharoff and the advanced party had refused a proposal made in the Council General to set a day apart for the hearing of Moslem petitions; they had also by their conduct at the meetings obliged the Greeks and Moslems to withdraw. The Local Government ordered Bulgarians to quit Moslem houses and lands, but the orders were seldom obeyed, and forcible eviction was not resorted to. The advanced party expected union with Bulgaria in two months time. When the Liberal Government came into office in England, there was great rejoicing; the Bulgarians thought they were going to be the spoiled children of England and they were now somewhat disappointed.

The officer commanding the gendarmerie at Anchialo, a Croat, who had served in the Austrian army and travelled much in Turkey, said the government of the Bourgas Department was as bad as anything he had seen in that country. He had lately commanded the gendarmes at Karnabad, and mentioned many instances in which Moslems had been robbed and ill-treated by Bulgarians in that canton; Moslems were often beaten by Bulgarians, and one man was murdered for trying to recover his property, no one was punished. Nine Moslem villages were still in the hands of Bulgarians. The Baïlli of Karnabad was a murderer, and the Cantonal Judge was unfair towards Moslems. He was sent to search for stolen property in the Bulgarian villages in the Balkans, and in six houses saw sixteen rifles, some of which were Martinis. The relations between the Bulgarians and Moslems were those of almost open war. The gendarmes were too young and there were not enough of them; they had not been paid for June or July, and under these circumstances it was almost impossible to prevent them from helping themselves.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 306.

*Note on the Previous History of certain Officials in the Bourgas Department.*

(Very Confidential.)

VODINCHAROFF, Judge of Criminal Court and President of Council-General at Bourgas, was schoolmaster at Aïdos before the war; during the Russian occupation was a copyist, and when sent to purchase wheat for the troops robbed a Bulgarian house; for this crime he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine. Through the influence of the Bulgarian Governor of Slivno the sentence was not executed, and Vodincharoff was soon afterwards sent as Governor to Aïdos. Whilst at Aïdos he was accused by public report of being the protector of a band of robbers and assassins, and of having instigated the murder of a Commissary of Police, three militiamen, and other persons. In answer to questions from the Central Government at Philippopoli, M. Petroff, then Préfet, replied that he believed the charges to be true, and that the motive was to keep up the idea of Turkish brigandage and revolt in the Balkans, and so prevent an inquiry into the robberies committed by his accomplices. A Bulgarian employé was sent from Slivno to examine the matter, and collected a mass of very damaging evidence against Vodincharoff, but it was suppressed through the influence of the Slivno National Committee, and he was afterwards appointed Judge of the Criminal Court at Bourgas.

Kojancharoff, Baïlli of Karnabad, before the war, killed a man in a quarrel at Slivno and fled to Roumania, where he opened a butcher's shop. He afterwards went to Toulcha, and whilst there was accused of robbing and murdering three persons. He escaped prior to trial at the commencement of the war, and opened a small grog shop for Russian soldiers. By this means he became rich, and on his return to Slivno after the war was appointed Baïlli of Aïdos.

Brakaloff, nephew of Dr. Yancoloff, the Préfet, was Governor of Anchialo under the Russians, and was then believed to have acted as Vodincharoff did in the Canton of Karnabad. When Anchialo was transferred by the Russians to the Government of Eastern Roumelia, grave defalcations were found in Brakaloff's accounts. He fled to Bulgaria, and a demand for his extradition was made to the Bulgarian Government at Sophia. On his failure to appear he was outlawed, but when his uncle was appointed Préfet of Bourgas he returned, and has ever since exercised great influence over Dr. Yancaloff.



Captain Popovitch was formerly Commissary of Police at Anchialo, but was dismissed for misconduct. He was soon afterwards appointed a Captain in the gendarmerie by General Streeker, and sent back to command the gendarmes at Anchialo. He is said to have been very active in inciting the Bulgarians against the Greeks and Moslems, and to have been the principal author of the disturbances in the Balkans. After the Aïdos affair he was transferred to the command of the gendarmerie at Karnabad, where he is reported to have been very harsh in his dealings with the Moslems.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 306.

*Statement made by the Refugees of Karamanja.*

(Very Confidential.)

WHEN the disturbances broke out in the Balkans, the people of Airadjyk and Karamanja went down to Hodja-keui, where there were some gendarmes. Sergeant Grigor there offered to take them safely to Missivria if they gave him 40 liras; they paid him 35 liras, and he escorted them to Guzek, where he left them with Theodor and Christo, two servants of Brakaloff's. These men made them engage seven Bulgarians as an escort, at 10 piastres a-day, and then took them to Erekli, where they slept. Theodor left the villagers at Erekli, but Christo went on with them to Bania-Tchelessi, where they were surrounded by Bulgarians, who robbed them of everything they had, and beat and otherwise ill-treated them. The villagers then went on to Eminé, where one woman died, and they afterwards found their way to Missivria, Anchialo, and Bourgas.

The people estimate their loss, in money, property, and live stock, at 2,200 liras; they are now in a state of great misery, and have been unable to recover any of their property.

The Commission has granted 441 liras as compensation to the people of Karamanja; the villagers of Airadjyk, which is in Bulgaria, receive nothing.

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No. 307.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Paunceforte.—(Received September 16.)*

(Confidential.)

*Admiralty, September 14, 1880.*

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to state, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the following telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 14th instant, at Ragusa, has been received this day:—

"French Admiral and three ships arrived. Reported the Montenegrin troops are marching from Cettinjé to Dulcigno. "Helicon," with Captain Sale, goes to Antivari to-morrow."

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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No. 308.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Paunceforte.—(Received September 16.)*

*Admiralty, September 15, 1880.*

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 15th September, at Ragusa.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 308.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, September* 15, 1880, 3·30 P.M.

Montenegrin Envoy arrived.

States Prince is ready to attempt occupation, but fears [? fearful] of Turkish regulars assisting Albanians in resisting.

I have summoned Conference of Representatives to-morrow; should have done so to-day, but waited news by "Helicon" from Antivari.

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No. 309.

*M. Contostavlos to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 16.)

*Folkestone, le* 14 *Septembre,* 1880.

My Lord,

EN exécution des ordres de son Excellence M. Ch. Tricoupi, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, j'ai l'honneur de soumettre à votre Excellence copie de son Rapport à moi relativement à la vente de propriétés de toute sorte par les autorités Ottomanes en Epire et en Thessalie.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) CONTOSTAVLOS.

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Inclosure in No. 309.

*M. Tricoupi to M. Contostavlos.*

*Athènes, le* 24 Août / 5 Septembre 1880.

M. le Ministre,

IL résulte des rapports de nos Consuls en Epire et en Thessalie que, depuis quelque temps les autorités Ottomanes procèdent précipitamment à la vente aux enchères publiques de toutes sortes de propriétés.

Cette manière d'agir des autorités Ottomanes ne saurait qu'amener une grande perturbation dans l'économie du pays et créer une situation qui ne répond nullement aux prévisions de la Conférence de Berlin.

En effet, la question des propriétés de l'Etat devant être réglée par le Traité qui interviendra lors de l'annexion, il est naturel que les choses soient maintenues, autant que possible, dans le *statu quo* jusqu'à la conclusion des arrangements internationaux qui viendront compléter l'œuvre de Berlin et régler les questions de détail. Jusque-là aucune modification importante ne doit être apportée à l'état transitoire que traversent les provinces.

Telle est, sans contredit, la pensée qui a présidé aux décisions formulées par l'Europe dans la dernière Conférence de Berlin.

Mais, loin de s'inspirer de cette pensée, la Sublime Porte n'a pas hésité de faire mettre en vente les propriétés même de domaine public qui, par leur nature, ne sauraient être cédées à des particuliers.

Par mes précédentes dépêches je n'ai pas manqué de vous signaler ces faits, en vous invitant de les porter à la connaissance du Cabinet auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité, et lui déclarer, en même temps, que le Gouvernement Royal se trouve dans la nécessité de protester et de considérer comme nulles et non avenues toutes les opérations de ce genre faites dans l'intervalle qui doit séparer la décision Européenne de l'entrée de la Grèce en possession définitive des provinces.

Bien que vous ayez déjà fait les communications que je vous avais prescrites à ce sujet, la gravité de ces procédés m'impose le devoir d'y revenir, et de vous prier de remettre copie de la présente à son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, afin que, dans sa haute justice, il veuille bien faire auprès de la Porte les démarches que le cas exige.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) CH. TRICOUPI.

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No. 310.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 16, 3·30 A.M.)

(No. 128.)

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 15, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 557 of yesterday, Italian Government have to-day sent instructions to their Ambassador at Constantinople in accordance with your Lordship's suggestion.

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No. 311.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, September* 16, 1880.

THE Admiral sent me to-day to Antivari to procure information concerning that [?] movement of the Montenegrin forces and the muster of Albanian forces. I landed at Antivari from yacht "Helicon," and went to Sutorman, where the Montenegrin army, to the number of 6,000, were [ ? ].

Having seen the General in command, I have sent following telegram to Admiral, and return to him to-night:—"I am at Sutorman. Have seen General of Montenegrin army, which is halted here. No proposition has been received from Turkey to hand over Dulcigno. Montenegrin troops camp here in compliance with [ ? ] Mr. Green that they should be ready. General states positively that there is no sign of the Albanians yielding, as they are in increasing numbers, and are fortifying position." I return to-night, to arrive at Ragusa before daybreak. Will explain position *verbatim*.

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No. 312.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 16, 1 P.M.)

(No. 228.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 16, 1880, 10·38 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 529.

Collective note drawn up and signed yesterday, and will be presented to-day, with a few unimportant alterations in the text. A sentence was inserted to cover the Russian reservation, as communicated in your telegram No. 516. Russian Ambassador would not have signed unless this insertion was accepted, and, as it appears harmless, and further delay for instructions would, under existing circumstances, have been prejudicial, if not dangerous, we agreed to it.

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No. 313.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 16, 1·50 P.M.)

(No. 88.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 16, 1880, 12·50 P.M.

YOUR telegram 455.

French Government will send to Ambassador at Constantinople necessary authority to settle terms of agreement with Porte respecting Montenegrin frontier, and to sign a Protocol confirming it.

They suppose that the mode of proceeding will be similar to that with reference to the Count Corti arrangement.

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No. 314.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 591.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 16, 1880, 3·45 P.M.

YOUR despatch No. 552.

Take an early opportunity of confidentially asking M. de Kállay how he would propose to deal with the questions therein referred to.

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No. 315.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.**

(No. 655.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 16, 1880, 8·35 P.M.

WITH reference to Mr. Goschen's No. 224, ask the opinion of the Government to which you are accredited as to making a declaration to the Porte that no more concessions will be asked in regard to Montenegrin frontier, provided Austrian line is at once accepted.

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No. 316.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 470.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 16, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 274 of the 23rd ultimo, respecting the employment of Achmet Aga as Mudir of the Nahié of Dospat, and I have to acquaint your Excellency that the representations you made to Abédine Pasha, and the note you addressed to his Excellency on the subject, are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 317.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 612. Confidential. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 16, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 552 of the 7th instant, marked Confidential, reporting a conversation which you had had with M. de Kállay, in which he enumerated the various stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin not yet carried out by Bulgaria, and I have to request your Excellency to take an early opportunity of inquiring confidentially of M. de Kállay how he would propose to deal with the questions therein referred to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 318.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 613. Very Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 16, 1880.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,† inclosing translation of a Report from the Austrian Consul-General at Philippopoli, relative to the enlistment of Russian non-commissioned officers in the East Roumelian militia, and I have to request your Excellency to ascertain whether the Austrian Government intend to take any steps in the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 319.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September* 17.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, September* 17, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Gravosa, dated the 17th September, from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour.

A corrected copy of Sir B. Seymour's telegram of the 16th instant is also inclosed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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* Also to Mr. Adams (No. 456), Lord Odo Russell (No. 536), Sir H. Elliot (No. 597), and Mr. Macdonell (No. 584).

† No. 261.



Inclosure 1 in No. 319.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 16, 1880, 11·35 P.M.

AFFAIRS are not satisfactory except as to agreement in view of Admirals having decided not to display naval force before Dulcigno until Consuls' families can be removed. Please see Captain Sale's telegraphic communication to Foreign Office.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 319.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 17, 1880, 4·36 P.M.

HAVE sent Flag-Captain to Scutari to deliver summons to Governor with full consent of my colleagues, as directed in thirteenth paragraph of letter No. 435 of the 8th instant.* Probably absent five days.

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No. 320.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 17, 1·6 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 16, 1880, 7·10 P.M.

I HAVE to report my return to the flagship.

The Admiral informs me that some of the foreign Admirals object to prolonging the stay here, as the anchorage is in part exposed.

Immediate action is considered necessary. On the other hand, the Admiral has received an unofficial letter from Mr. Green, who asks that no action be taken at present, and that, if eventually it becomes clear that Dulcigno will not be peaceably surrendered, sufficient time should then be allowed to remove his family in safety.

Between the two courses, the further indefinite delay suggested by Mr. Green and the urgency, both for technical and other reasons, for immediate action if the union of the fleet is to be maintained, the Admiral feels that there is an utter discrepancy, and, moreover, that to comply with Mr. Green's unofficial letter would be to fail in carrying out the instructions given by Her Majesty's Government.

The Austrian Admiral having stated, at a conference of naval Commanding Officers held to-day, that in his opinion the appearance of the fleet off Dulcigno would be the signal for an outbreak at Scutari and possible massacre of the families of the several Consuls, the British Admiral has telegraphed to Mr. Green, as senior of the Consuls at Scutari, to instruct the Consuls to at once remove their families to a place of safety, and has caused a communication to be addressed to the Governor-General of Scutari, holding him personally responsible for the safety of the families of the Consuls whilst travelling.

Directly the Admiral hears that the safety of the families of the Consuls is secured, he will proceed according to the instructions under which he feels himself bound to act, and with the least possible delay.

All the foreign Admirals concur in supporting strongly the view of his instructions taken by the English Admiral.

The Admiral has not received either from Mr. Green or from home any official communication whatever which could absolve him from acting on his instructions, Mr. Green, nevertheless, being apparently in receipt of orders from your Lordship which traverse the Admiral's instructions.

I trust I may be excused for venturing to telegraph thus openly to your Lordship, but the position appears to need some immediate elucidation.

All the information that I gathered yesterday at and near Antivari points to resistance.

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* Paragraph 13, referred to in telegram, taken from Draft A, inclosed in Foreign Office letter of 8th September:—

"When this shall have been decided by the Commander-in-chief, you will address a summons to the Governor of Scutari and the local authorities of the town of Dulcigno to deliver up the town and the territory of Dulcigno to Montenegro."

No. 321.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 17, 9·20 P.M.)

(No. 100.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 16, 1880, *noon.*

RIZA PASHA, whom I saw this morning, says that he has secured the complete isolation of Scutari and Dulcigno from the rest of Albania, and that he is working hard to compass peaceable surrender of latter. He hopes this may happen from one day to the other, but, at all events, not later than a week hence. He declared to me, in the most solemn manner, that the surrender will take place without any further hesitation on the part of the Turkish authorities.

The ship of war "Izzedin" is expected at Dulcigno to-day, with an Aide-de-camp of the Sultan and some Northern Albanians on board, who are charged to repeat there His Imperial Majesty's determination to give up the place to Montenegro.

Riza Pasha has repeated to me that he was advised by the Italian Consul to drag on this affair till winter, and he says that yesterday he was told that the Mussulman Judge of Dulcigno has declared that the inhabitants have already prepared the Italian flag which they intend to fly over the town.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 322.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 535.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880, 3·5 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 226, I approve of your having agreed to the insertion in the collective note of a sentence covering the Russian reservation as to the retention of Dinosi by Turkey being dependent on the immediate and pacific surrender of Dulcigno.

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No. 323.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 536.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880, 3·30 P.M.

THE following telegram, dated the afternoon of the 15th, has been received from Admiral Seymour:—

"Montenegrin Envoy arrived. States Prince is ready to attempt occupation, but fearful of Turkish regulars assisting Albanians in resisting.

"I have summoned Conference of Representatives to-morrow."

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No. 324.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 17, 6 P.M.)

(No. 90.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 17, 1880, 5·10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 458.

French Government see no objection to declaration suggested. They would even agree to Turkish proposal of the 18th August, if this would bring immediate solution of Montenegrin question.

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No. 325.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 17, 6·15 P.M.)

(No. 128.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 17, 1880, 5·30 P.M.

WITH reference to Mr. Green's telegram No. 99, Italian Government has instructed its Consul at Scutari to call on Riza Pasha to retract or substantiate the accusations



brought against him. These instructions have been communicated to Count Corti, who is to demand an immediate explanation as to the Pasha's allegations. Signor Cairoli is of opinion that Riza Pasha is himself the author of these mischievous reports.

Marquis Menabrea will communicate to your Lordship the text of the above instructions.

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No. 326.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 17, 11·30 P.M.)

(No. 129.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 17, 1880, 4 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 584.

Italian Government are willing to join in a declaration to the Porte that no more concessions will be asked provided that Austrian line is at once adopted.

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No. 327.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 17, 6·45 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 17, 1880, 4·35 P.M.

THE Admiral has this day sent the Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Alexandra," accompanied by Lieutenant Caillard, to Scutari by Cettinjé, with the summons to hand over Dulcigno, in accordance with the last paragraph but two of his instructions. All the foreign Admirals concur.

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No. 328.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 17, 11·30 P.M.)

(No. 230.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 17, 1880, 1 P.M.

BY presenting our note yesterday we have anticipated the note from the Porte, which is in preparation, and in which acceptance of *status quo* is to be proposed as indispensable condition to surrender of Dulcigno.

I am strongly of opinion that the time has come for stating that if Dulcigno is not surrendered by a certain very small number of days the fleet will sail for Dulcigno. Most of my colleagues agree in this view. The absence of allusion to the naval demonstration in our note, and its tone, which is milder than that of the 3rd August, may otherwise lead to further attempts to negotiate.

We ought to be prepared, when the Turkish note reaches us, to reply within twenty-four hours, without further reference home, that we are instructed not to entertain any further negotiations, and that if Dulcigno is not surrendered within three or four days the fleet will sail. That if, on the other hand, they accept the frontier as proposed in our yesterday's note, no further territorial concessions will be asked in favour of Montenegro.

It would have an excellent effect if this time we could reply at once, as the long, though inevitable, delay in answering last note has encouraged the Turks.

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No. 329.

*Earl Granville to Captain Sale.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880, 11·30 P.M.

COURSE proposed by Admiral will be approved. Green has no instructions to the contrary.

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No. 330.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880, 11·45 P.M.

YOU may leave whenever you think desirable.

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No. 331.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 490. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880.

I RECEIVED your Excellency's telegram No. 228 of the 16th instant, informing me that the collective note on the Montenegrin frontier question was drawn up and signed by the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople on the 15th instant, and that it would be presented to the Porte on the following day.

Your Excellency further informed me that, at the instance of the Russian Ambassador, a sentence had been inserted in the note covering the Russian reservation as to the retention of Dinosi by Turkey being dependent on the immediate and pacific surrender of Dulcigno, and I have to inform you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government approve of your Excellency's having agreed to the insertion of this clause.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 332.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.*

(No. 519. Very Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880.

THE Italian Ambassador at this Court informs me that he has received a telegram from his Government upon the subject of the fresh instructions proposed by the French Government in the matter of the naval demonstration off Dulcigno.

The substance of this telegram is to the following effect:—

M. Cairoli entirely shares the views of Her Majesty's Government upon this question, and adheres to the instructions which have already been given to the Commander of the Italian Squadron in this sense.

He hopes that France will come to an agreement with the other Powers, but, nevertheless, if occasion should arise, he has no objection to the French Naval Commander following his own special instructions.

With regard to the line of the Montenegrin frontier, M. Cairoli continues to adhere to the last proposal of Her Majesty's Government, and he hopes that they may prevail upon the Russian Government to withdraw their latest reservations.

He again expresses his earnest desire to act in complete agreement with England, and adds that he has telegraphed to the Italian Consul at Cettinjé, instructing him to join his English colleague in urging the Prince of Montenegro to prepare for the occupation of Dulcigno.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 333.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 110.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for such observations as you may have to offer thereupon, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Onofrio relative to a scheme for a Greco-Albanian Confederacy (including Northern Albania), under the sovereignty of the King of Greece.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Inclosure in No. 62.



No. 334.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 111.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1880.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language you held to Riza Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 263 of the 21st ultimo, respecting the attitude of himself and the Turkish authorities with regard to the Dulcigno arrangement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 335.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 18.)

(No. 287. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, September* 5, 1880.

THIS morning, as I have already had the honour of telegraphing to your Lordship, two of the most important Chiefs of the tribe of Gruda called upon me to repeat a lesson which they had evidently learnt from Riza Pasha about the determination of the Roman Catholic tribes to resist to the last every cession, however small, of their territory to Montenegro.

I told them at once that from their language I could understand at whose bidding they had come to me, and that, without any further by-play, I wished to know from them whether it was becoming in Christian communities like those of the Albanian tribes, which had always enjoyed the sympathy of their co-religionists abroad, to send defiant, and I must add ridiculous, messages to the all-powerful Governments of Europe.

My visitors looked abashed, and declared that they had no wish to assume the attitude I ascribed to them. They had learnt that it was the British Government to which they principally owed their escape from being parcelled off to Montenegro, and, as a proof of their appreciation of this service, they could assure me that not a man of all their tribes would be found to offer the slightest resistance to the surrender of the district and town of Dulcigno to Prince Nicholas.

I then told them that they had better return to Riza Pasha, and say that I had explained to them that the Powers were most anxious to have every possible consideration for the rights of the Albanian mountaineers, and that, perhaps, an arrangement might still be arrived at about the village of Dinosi, but that as to Matagas, it was better to cast it off their minds, and not to endeavour to father it upon themselves when it is believed to be a Slav village, and to have no connection with the mountains.

Prenk Bib Doda happened to be calling on me at the time, and my thanks are due to him for the support he gave to my arguments, and to his confirmation of the interest taken by Her Majesty's Government in the welfare of the North Albanians.

The Chiefs left me, declaring that they would confide entirely in the Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 336.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 18.)

(No. 542. Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September* 7, 1880.

THE Austrian Government have been informed by their Minister at Cettinjé that Prince Nicholas states that he had been misunderstood if he was supposed to have consented to be willing to relinquish his claim to Dinosi, or to be indifferent upon the question.

As there can be no doubt of His Highness having previously spoken very differently, the present change in his language coinciding with that which has taken place at St. Petersburgh, the influence under which the Prince has made it is considered here to be perfectly evident.



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M. de Kállay has frequently expressed a suspicion that the Russian Government had no wish to arrive at a settlement of the Montenegrin frontier until the Naval Demonstration had taken place; and he mentioned to me to-day that he had told M. d'Oubril that he had remarked from his language that he seemed to look upon the Demonstration as the object to be aimed at, while the other Governments considered it as a means towards an object, and would be glad to avoid the necessity for it, if possible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 337.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 853. Extender.)
My Lord, *Paris, September* 16, 1880.

YESTERDAY I communicated to Baron de Courcel the substance of your Lordship's telegram No. 455 of the 14th instant, and this morning he informed me that telegraphic instructions would be sent to M. Tissot giving his Excellency the necessary authority to join with the other Representatives at Constantinople in settling with the Porte the terms of the Agreement respecting the Montenegrin frontier, and also to sign a Protocol confirming the Agreement.

M. de Courcel said he concluded that the mode of proceeding in the present case would be similar to that followed in the case of the so-called Corti arrangement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 338.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 859. Extender.)
My Lord, *Paris, September* 17, 1880.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 458 of yesterday, I asked Baron de Courcel this afternoon what the French Government thought as to making a declaration to the Porte that it should not be asked for any more concessions with reference to the Montenegrin frontier, provided that the line proposed by Austria was accepted at once.

M. de Courcel said that he did not see any objection to such a Declaration. He added that the French Government would even be ready to accept the line which was proposed by the Turks on the 18th August, and which would give Matagas to them, if only this would lead to the immediate settlement of the question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 339.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 860.)
My Lord, *Paris, September* 17, 1880.

BARON DE COURCEL showed me this afternoon a copy of a telegram, dated the 15th instant, which had been communicated to him by the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, and which stated that the Prince of Montenegro was massing troops and artillery on the Turkish frontier, and was preparing to invade Dulcigno, and requested the intervention of the Powers to prevent the Prince from carrying out the intention attributed to him.

M. de Courcel said that he intended to inform the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, who was waiting to see him, that the Prince of Montenegro had been invited by the Powers to approach the frontier and to hold himself in readiness there, and that military questions had now passed into the hands of the Admirals of the combined fleets.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 340.

*Assym Pasha to Musurus Bey.*—(*Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September* 18.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 15 Septembre*, 1880.

PAR suite des difficultés et des complications de plus d'un genre qui ont surgi dernièrement à l'occasion du tracé stipulant l'abandon au Monténégro des territoires de Hotti, de Grudi, et de Clementi en vertu de la Convention du 18 Avril, la cession de ces territoires était devenue impossible. C'est pour cette raison qu'à la même époque, les Puissances ont de leur côté pris en considération ces difficultés et cru devoir proposer en échange des territoires en question l'abandon au Gouvernement Monténégrin de Dulcigno, y compris le district du même nom.

Le Gouvernement a mûrement examiné cette proposition des Puissances et, dans son désir sincère de résoudre au plus tôt la question Monténégrine, il a accepté la même proposition formulée dans la dernière note de leurs Représentants à Constantinople, laquelle fixait un délai de vingt et un jours.

Cependant la Sublime Porte, reconnaissant justement les obstacles et les difficultés qui n'auraient pas manqué de se produire pendant la cession à un autre Gouvernement d'un territoire aussi important dont la population, entièrement Musulmane, répugne à l'idée de devenir sujette de ce même Gouvernement, et ayant aussi en vue d'arriver à persuader cette population à se résigner à l'arrêt du destin et d'effectuer graduellement son installation dans d'autres parties de l'Empire, la Sublime Porte, disons-nous, a envoyé dans ces parages plusieurs bataillons et disposée de sommes considérables pour faciliter l'installation des émigrés sur ses terres domaniales désignées à cet effet. Elle a en même temps remplacé le Gouverneur-Général de Scutari par un Commandant actif. Dans le but d'arrêter une mesure radicale pour prévenir l'effusion du sang pendant la cession des positions en question, le Gouvernement Impérial a demandé aux Puissances de prolonger le délai de quelques semaines encore.

La Sublime Porte aurait été heureuse de recevoir une prompte réponse à sa demande et elle s'est trouvée un peu plus tard placée en présence d'un projet de démonstration navale. Les Six Puissances lui proposaient d'imiter leur action pour prendre de force Dulcigno des mains de ses habitants et la remettre au Monténégro, en d'autres termes, il s'agissait d'une illégalitée considérée comme telle au double point de vue de la religion et de la politique, en même temps que de l'emploi à l'égard de ses sujets de moyens violents dont les conséquences graves sont de toute évidence, et de leur transfert à un Gouvernement dont ils ne voulaient pas. De cette façon la question a subi de jour en jour des retards sans qu'il se produisit aucune déclaration catégorique et officielle comme quoi les Puissances abandonneraient totalement la démonstration navale dans le cas la remise de Dulcigno serait effectuée.

A bien considérer les choses, le Gouvernement Impérial a toujours eu le désir sincère de mettre fin aux complications et aux conflits, et s'est conformé au vœu des Cabinets Signataires en décidant la cession de Dulcigno. Néanmoins, il se croit pour ainsi dire sous le coup d'une pression peu en rapport avec les droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, sans que les Puissances veuillent attendre l'exécution équitable et modérée de la dite décision, et il se croit fondé à considérer un tel état de choses comme inconciliable avec ses intérêts bien entendus.

Nous ne voyons aucun avantage dans les entraves apportées à la décision prise par la Sublime Porte de céder Dulcigno, et le Gouvernement Impérial constate naturellement que la prompte exécution de la même décision se rattache nécessairement à ses propres intérêts.

Mais la Sublime Porte, pour rassurer les esprits et pour compléter et accélérer ses actes en face d'éventualités graves, se croit en droit de faire les remarques suivantes:—

Les Puissances abandonneront-elles le projet de faire une démonstration navale et de s'associer à une action militaire en cas de la cession de Dulcigno?

Les habitants de villes cédées ne profiteraient-ils pas des principes du droit naturel et commun en ce qui concerne leur foi, leur honneur, et leur vie?

Le tracé de la région qui a été antérieurement fixé du côté de Podgoritza pour la remise de Dulcigno, ne recevra-t-il pas, comme cela lui est dû, l'adhésion des Puissances?

La prompte exécution des instructions reçues par le Commandant Impérial concernant la remise de Dulcigno se rattache aux assurances que le Gouvernement Ottoman attend relativement aux trois points sus-énoncés.

En supposant que cette intention et la décision de la Sublime Porte suivent leur

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cours, même dans le cas où ces assurances se feraient attendre, le repos et la tranquillité de tous les sujets Ottomans seront troublés à cause, d'un côté, du découragement et de l'agitation de la population, et de l'autre, par l'approche d'une force imposante du territoire de l'Empire.

Dès lors, cette situation provoquerait une foule d'événements graves et fâcheux, et les cris de désespoir des populations qui monteraient au Ciel porteraient l'agitation jusque parmi les habitants des provinces Européennes et Asiatiques de l'Empire. Et comme ce ne serait point le Gouvernement Impérial qui aurait créé cet état de choses, nous nous voyons dans l'obligation de déclarer dès à présent que la responsabilité qui s'ensuivrait ne pourrait naturellement pas retomber sur la Sublime Porte.

Je vous prie de vous exprimer dans le sens qui précède auprès du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

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No. 341.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18, 10·40 A.M.)

(No. 231.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 17, 1880, 10 P.M.

LATE this afternoon I received copy of a Circular telegram sent yesterday by the Porte to its Agents abroad. It was inclosed in a private letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that it was not a reply to collective note presented yesterday, as the telegram was sent off yesterday morning. This is incorrect. No answer had been sent by the Porte when I saw Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday at 1 o'clock. Some passages of the telegram are almost unintelligible, as, for instance, the third question, which speaks of that line as "antérieurement fixé."

The point of the Circular seems to be to obtain an assurance that if Dulcigno is surrendered no naval demonstration will take place, and further that the *status quo* line is to be previously accepted. The following point therefore arises: if we promise that if Dulcigno itself is surrendered no naval demonstration will take place, do we not lose our liberty of action as regards enforcing the line we have proposed to the east of the lake? This is probably what the Turks are aiming at.

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No. 342.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 232.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 18, 1880.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 231, your Lordship will observe that in the Circular telegram the Powers are said to have proposed "the cession of Dulcigno, including the district of the same name;" the fact that rectification of the frontier east of the Lake of Scutari was at the same time demanded is ignored.

With regard to naval demonstration, I have never been even sounded by the Porte as to whether it would take place if Dulcigno were surrendered. The Porte cannot, therefore, complain that it received no official or categorical declaration on this head. Abédine never said much to me about the demonstration at all.

Whatever reply the Powers may propose, I trust it will be in the sense of my telegram No. 230 of yesterday, and state that Dulcigno must in any case be surrendered before certain day, and that, otherwise, the ships should appear off the town. I should strongly advise that it should also be said that no further negotiation can take place; but if this should be considered too strong, then that it should be declared that no further negotiations can be entertained until Dulcigno is delivered.

The tone of the Circular is very excited; I had heard, but would not believe, that in the original draft the phrase "organized massacres" occurred. The concluding passages of the Circular show where the phrase might have stood; and, if true, the story throws light on the paraphrases now substituted for those violent words.

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No. 343.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.**

(No. 542.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 18, 3·15 P.M.

ADMIRAL telegraphs that he has sent Flag Captain to Scutari to deliver summons to Governor with full consent of his colleagues, as directed in instructions. Admiral expects he will be absent five days.

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No. 344.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18, 9·28 P.M.)

(No. 130.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 18, 1880, 7 P.M.

IN answer to the new Circular of the Porte, Count Maffei informed Turkish Minister that he considers it ill-timed and a pretext for further delay. That immediate cession of Dulcigno would dispose of the main object of the demonstration, but he cannot guarantee the non-appearance of the combined fleet unless the Porte accepts the Austrian line and engages not to raise minor difficulties; in any case, the Italian Government will be guided in their action by that of England.

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No. 345.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 18, 10·50 P.M.)

(No. 98.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September* 18, 1880, 10·35 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 538.

Count Hatzfeldt has been instructed to act with his colleagues when they are agreed about declaration to the Porte that no more concessions will be asked in regard to Montenegro.

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No. 346.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 3·25 A.M.)

(No. 101.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 16, 1880, 7 P.M.

THE inhabitants of Dulcigno have sent each of the Consuls of the Great Powers a document, which they ask to be communicated to the respective Governments, declaring that, rather than submit to become Montenegrin, they will all perish. I explained to the bearer of this document that the decision of the Powers is irrevocable, and told him to explain to his fellow-townsmen that they are mistaken in trusting to support from abroad. The document in question prays for a favourable reply from the Powers.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 347.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 9·45 A.M.)

(No. 102.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 17, 1880, 4 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 102 of the 13th.

I beg to refer your Lordship to my despatch No. 279 of the 2nd September for what the Italian Chargé d'Affaires said to me before the question of Italian intrigues reached him from other quarters, and to leave your Lordship to decide whether I am in the habit of sending false and unfounded reports.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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* Also to Mr. Adams (No. 565), Lord Odo Russell (No. 546), Sir H. Elliot (No. 602), Mr. Plunkett (No. 662), and Mr. Macdonell (No. 589).

No. 348.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 9·45 A.M.)

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 17, 1880, 10 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 100 of yesterday, notwithstanding Riza Pasha's asseverations, I think it would be prudent not to take them into account in any negotiations that may be going on at Constantinople, for the conduct of the Scutari Committee does not, apparently, confirm the General's assertion that he has completely isolated the two towns.

To-day a deputation of the Committee left for Tousi to induce the Roman Catholic tribes to send some of their stores of ammunition, and another deputation of each clan to Dulcigno.

I also have not heard that the Sultan's Firman [?] has produced any effect; and this kind of secret messenger frequently proves a forerunner of trouble.

The Montenegrin Commanders near Antivari have orders to obey the first summons to advance from the Admiral in command.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 349.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 9·45 A.M.)

(No. 104.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 17, 1880, 10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 103.

Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs states that the Prince would at once give the authorization required by the Ambassadors at Constantinople if His Highness understood that the arrangement to be signed is not to include any farther new modification than the one proposed by the Austrian Government about Dinosi.

Minister for Foreign Affairs asks that I should ascertain from your Lordship, "à titre de renseignement," the exact conditions of the arrangement which the Ambassadors are empowered to negotiate with the Porte.

I have urged that the Prince should continue to trust entirely on the good intentions of the Powers.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 350.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 3·28 A.M.)

(No. 234.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 18, 1880, 10·30 P.M.

PLEASE inform me when Circular telegram from the Porte was communicated to you. Date of despatch from here is important.

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No. 351.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 3·28 A.M.)

(No. 235.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 18, 1880, 10·45 P.M.

I HEAR that the Circular is a purely Palace document. The Sultan indignantly rejected a moderate version submitted to him on Thursday morning, and sent the present Circular in Turkish to his Ministers on Thursday afternoon, with the order that it was to be translated word for word and then sent off. Further that new Prime Minister toned it down a little on his own responsibility. Sultan is much excited and irritated in consequence of failure of his attempt to get the *status quo* line accepted.

I shall see Ministers early on Monday. I hope by that time to receive instructions as to language I am to hold respecting the Circular, and as to naval demonstration.

I telegraph to Admiral to send me latest news as to his movements by that time.

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No. 352.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 3·28 P.M.)

(No. 88. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Philippopoli, September* 18, 1880, 10·20 P.M.

WITH reference to last paragraph of No. 25 of the 26th ultimo, I am informed that the Governor-General seriously meditates shortly tendering his resignation to the Sultan.

I have urged my informant, in whose opinion Aleko Pasha places especial trust, to use his endeavours to dissuade his Excellency from taking any hasty step.

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No. 353.

*Earl Granville to Captain Sale.*

(No. 6.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 19, 1880, 3 A.M.

REPORT to Constantinople as well as home any intended movements of fleet.

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No. 354.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 549.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 19, 1880, 3 A.M.

YOU should inform Porte that the combined squadrons of the Powers have assembled at Ragusa with instructions in conformity with the concluding portion of the note of 3rd August, and will proceed at once to act upon them. Also, that there can be no further negotiation as to frontier-line, but that if proposal now before Porte is accepted and loyally carried out, no further concessions will be demanded in favour of Montenegro.

We will request other Powers to join in this communication.

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No. 355.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 550.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 19, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

YOURS No. 234.

The strong Circular telegram from the Porte was communicated on the afternoon of the 18th.

Have you received my telegram No. 549 of to-day?

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No. 356.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 6 P.M.)

(No. 131.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September* 19, 1880, 4 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 593.

Count Corti has been furnished with identic instructions.

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No. 357.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 19, 6·16 P.M.)

(No. 4.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 19, 1880, 4 P.M.

ADMIRAL has to-day written to the Austrian Admiral warning him that it may be necessary, on account of stress of weather and on short notice, to take the fleet into gulf. This movement would also much facilitate direct communication with Montenegrin authority as regards concerted military action.

Admiral asks that Admiralty may be acquainted with this.

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## No. 358.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20.)

(No. 139.) [B.B.]

*Sophia, September* 3, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE not failed, in obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 101 of the 12th ultimo, to make inquiries both of M. Zancoff and of Nihad Pasha as to the occurrences referred to in the two despatches from the Turkish Government, which had been communicated to your Lordship by Musurus Bey.

The events mentioned in the despatch from the Porte of the 29th July are evidently the same as those reported by Mr. Brophy in his despatch to me of the 5th June, which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship in my despatch No. 100 of the 15th of that month. The events in question are reported by Mr. Brophy as having taken place on the 30th April, and the explanations given to me by the Prince of Bulgaria and M. Zancoff formed the subject of my telegram of the 31st May, and of my despatches Nos. 87 and 90 of the 31st May, No. 100 of the 15th June, No. 120 of the 26th July, No. 123 of the 2nd, and No. 124 of the 10th ultimo.

With regard to the events referred to in the telegram from the Porte of the 7th ultimo, it appears that the name of the place where the refugees were attacked is Egri Palanka, and is situated on Turkish territory. The occurrences in question were brought by Nihad Pasha to the notice of M. Zancoff, who at once telegraphed to the Bulgarian authorities on the frontier to arrest the guilty parties, who were said to have taken refuge in the Principality. His Excellency has promised to furnish me with a copy of a Report which he has received on this subject, from which, he said, I should see that several arrests had been made.

Nihad Pasha informs me that he was quite satisfied with the action taken by M. Zancoff in the matter, which he had reported at the time to his Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

## No. 359.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20.)

(No. 140. Confidential.)

*Sophia, September* 6, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a list which has been confidentially communicated to me, and which I have reason to believe is accurate, of the number of Russian officers and non-commissioned officers in the Bulgarian service. The number of officers, including those employed in the various Administrations, amounts to 178; the number of non-commissioned officers and men to 337. On the occasion of the Prince's fête on the 11th instant, commissions will be given to 86 students in the Military School of Sophia. I am informed that some of the Russian officers included in this list have not yet arrived in Bulgaria. I also understand that Russian officers are called upon to resign their Commission in the Russian army before taking service in the Principality. They may, however, be reinstated after their service in Bulgaria is finished.

The military manœuvres which are about to take place, will probably give some indication of the strength of the Bulgarian army. I have been informed that the whole military force of the Principality, including the gendarmes, does not amount to more than 15,000 men.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.



Inclosure in No. 359.

*List of Russian Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers in Bulgarian Service.*

Il y a actuellement au Service Militaire Bulgare.

(A.) (*a.*) OFFICIERS qui ont servi dans l'armée Russe:—

| | Officiers Supérieurs. | Capitaines. | Officiers Subalternes. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Dans les Administrations .. .. .. .. | 10 | 16 | 4 |
| 2. Dans l'effectif de l'armée 21 batallions, 4 escadrons, 9 batteries, 2 compagnies des sapeurs .. .. .. .. | 20 | 108 | 15 |
| | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| 3. Dans la Marine .. .. .. .. .. | | | |
| Total .. .. .. .. | 31 | 125 | 22 |

(*b.*) Sous Officiers et soldats ayant servi dans l'armée Russe:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Dans la ligne .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 261 |
| 2. Dans les Administrations .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 36 |
| 3. Dans la Marine .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 90 |

(B.) Officiers qui n'ont pas servi dans l'armée Russe:—

Y compris 5 personnes de la suite de Son Altesse le Prince, 2 Capitaines, et 110 Officiers Subalternes.

NOTA.—De plus, au 30 Août prochain seront promus au grade d'officier, 86 élèves de l'Ecole Militaire de Sophia.

*Sophia, le* $\frac{22 \text{ Août}}{3 \text{ Septembre}}$, 1880.

## No. 360.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20.)

(No. 142.)

*Sophia, September* 6, 1880.

My Lord,

M. BELDIMANO, the Acting Roumanian Agent and Consul-General, has informed me that some delay has taken place in arriving at an understanding on the subject of the Roumanian claims for Consular jurisdiction. A Circular was recently issued by the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior granting to Greek subjects in Bulgaria the same privileges as were enjoyed by the subjects of the Great Powers. The Roumanian Government at once demanded that Roumanian subjects should be put on the same footing, but the Bulgarian Government maintained that the existing Treaty between Greece and Turkey secured privileges to Greek subjects which Roumania, in the absence of such a Treaty, could not justly claim. In view, however, of the unanimous opinion of all the Great Powers with regard to the interpretation of Article L of the Treaty of Berlin, M. Zancoff has agreed to address a note to M. Beldimano expressing his readiness to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a Convention, and stating that the instructions given to the local authorities with regard to Roumanian subjects are to be suspended. M. Beldimano has transmitted to Bucharest a draft of the note which M. Zancoff proposes to address to him, and if it meets with the approval of the Roumanian Government he understands that M. Stourdza, the Roumanian Agent and Consul-General, will at once return to Sophia to enter into negotiations with the Bulgarian Government for the conclusion of a Convention.

M. Beldimano informs me that he has received the strongest and most loyal support from M. Coumany, the Russian Agent and Consul-General, throughout the whole of this business; and I think it necessary to call your Lordship's attention to this fact, as I perceive from Sir H. Elliot's despatch No. 490 of the 17th ultimo, copy of which was inclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 111, Confidential, of the 26th ultimo, that the Roumanian Minister at Vienna had stated that the Russian Government had advised the Bulgarians not to give way.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 361.

*Mr. Lascelles to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 143.) [B.B.] *Sophia, September 6, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 139 of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a note which I have received from M. Zancoff, inclosing a translation of the Report on the affair of Egri Palanka.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 361.

*M. Zancoff to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Sophia, le 4 Septembre*, 1880.

M. l'Agent,

LA Sublime Porte ayant fait des plaintes au sujet de 400 réfugiés Musulmans qui auraient été attaqués, pillés, et blessés sur le territoire de Kustendil, j'ai l'honneur de vous communiquer le Rapport qui m'a été adressé le 23 Juillet (v.s.), 1880, par le Chef du district de Kustendil.

Vous y verrez, M. l'Agent, que l'attaque dont ont été victimes les Musulmans a eu lieu sur le territoire Turc à Egri Palanka, en Macédoine. Vous y verrez que des habitants de Kustendil que le Caïmacam de Palanka signalait comme complices des brigands, se trouvaient le jour de l'attaque à Kustendil, ainsi qu'il en résulte d'une enquête faite par le Chef de la Police. Il en fut de même pour deux habitants de Kustendil signalés comme ayant pris part à l'attaque.

Vous voudrez bien reconnaître, M. l'Agent, le peu de fondement de cette déclaration de 400 réfugiés attaqués aux portes de la ville par trois individus; ils étaient en nombre pour se défendre et s'ils avaient appelé au secours, la patrouille de service les aurait entendus.

Le peu de valeur de ces allégations, sera, j'en suis certain, reconnu par vous, M. l'Agent, et je saisis, &c.

(Signé) D. ZANCOFF.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 361.

*Report.*

(Traduction.)

EN réponse a l'ordre que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser en date du 17 de ce mois, j'ai l'honneur de vous informer que, d'après les renseignements recueillis par suite de l'office susmentionné, j'ai appris qu'effectivement parmi les Turcs qui rentraient il y en eut qui avaient été attaqués, tués, et pillés; mais cette attaque eut lieu au delà des frontières de la Principauté en Turquie. Ce dernier détail a été porté par les Turcs eux-mêmes, qui avaient été attaqués et blessés, à la connaissance de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, qui m'a donné l'ordre ainsi qu'au Chef du district de Sophia de les faire visiter par les médecins du district et de les envoyer dans les hôpitaux pour y être soignés.

Néanmoins les blessés s'y refusèrent et s'en allèrent avec leurs compagnons.

A Kustendil il n'y a pas de brigands qui aient été arrêtés par suite de cet événement. Quant aux habitants de cette ville qui avaient été désignés par le Kaïmakam de Palanka comme ayant participé à cet acte de brigandage, les investigations dirigées par le ci-devant Commissaire de Police de Kustendil démontrèrent que ceux-ci n'y avaient pris aucune part, parce que à cette époque ils n'avaient pas quitté la ville de Kustendil. Après l'événement précité, dans une localité faisant partie de l'Arrondissement de Kustendil, on avait trouvé deux chevaux, mais lorsqu'ils furent montrés par le Kaïmakam de Palanka à deux Turcs qui cherchaient les leurs, ils reconnurent que ceux-ci ne leur appartenaient point.

En ce qui concerne les 400 réfugiés Turcs qui se plaignaient de ce qu'on les avait attaqués et qu'on leur avait enlevé de l'argent et douze chevaux, j'ai appris que ces Turcs avaient également formulé les mêmes plaintes à Kustendil le lendemain de leur arrivée. Suivant les indications des plaignants la police avait arrêté et traduit devant le Tribunal



les deux personnes qu'ils désignaient, mais l'exactitude des allégations élevées à leur charge n'ayant pas pu être démontrée le Tribunal les avait relâchés.

Je ne puis pas ne pas avouer qu'à Kustendil il y a de mauvaises gens, capables de commettre de semblables méfaits; il y en a même beaucoup, et je compte les éloigner de la ville. Mais la déclaration précitée des 400 réfugiés semble mériter peu de confiance, parce qu'ils prétendent que le fait serait arrivé pendant qu'ils passaient la nuit à l'extrémité de la ville. Or, si tel était réellement le cas et si ces 400 personnes avaient été en effet attaqués par trois brigands, la patrouille à cheval qui circule dans la localité serait arrivée au premier signal et auront chassé ces derniers.

Excepté les deux chevaux mentionnés plus haut la police en avait arrêté encore trois autres avec un poulain qu'elle croyait avoir été volés. Les hommes en possession desquels les chevaux avaient été trouvés ont été traduits devant le Tribunal de l'arrondissement, qui avait été informé en même temps que l'un de ces hommes qui avait été soupçonné d'avoir volé des chevaux avait de plus vendu dernièrement à Radomir six bœufs, afin que le Tribunal put examiner simultanément la provenance de ces bœufs.

Ces cinq chevaux ont été placés dans un village, jusqu'à ce que leurs propriétaires se présentent, et après les avoir reconnus, puissent les reprendre. A Kustendil même on n'a remis à personne les trois chevaux.

Je fais insérer dans les journaux un avis pour l'information de ceux qui peuvent avoir perdu des chevaux ou à qui on peut en avoir volé.

Le Chef du District,

(Signé) TOUMPAROFF.

Le Secrétaire,

J. YANCOFF.

*Le 23 Juillet* (v.s.), 1880.

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No. 362.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 392.) *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 608 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report that Baron Jomini has heard from Livadia that the Imperial Government adopt the projected reply to the Porte, on the Montenegrin Frontier question, as proposed by Great Britain and amended by Austria, on the condition, however, that the cession of Dinosi to Turkey shall bring about the immediate and peaceable surrender of Dulcigno, and that, in the contrary event, Montenegro should reserve her right to Dinosi.

Copy of the portion of Baron Jomini's private note which conveys to me this decision of the Imperial Government is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure in No. 362.

*Baron Jomini to Mr. Plunkett.*

*Le* 30 Août / 11 Septembre 1880.

(Extrait.)

JE suis informé de Livadia :—

* * * * * *

qu'il (le Cabinet Impérial) adopte le projet de réponse Anglaise à la Porte au sujet de la frontière Monténégrine, d'après la proposition Autrichienne, mais à condition que la cession de Donosi à la Turquie amènera la remise pacifique immédiate de Dulcigno, et qu'en cas contraire le Monténégro reprendait ses droits sur Dinosi.

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No. 363.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 393.) *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 610 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report that Baron Jomini informs me that he hears from Livadia that Russia is willing to join Great Britain in inviting the Prince of Montenegro to occupy Dulcigno.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

No. 364.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 394. Extender.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 10, 1880.*

BARON JOMINI has informed me to-day that he hears from M. de Giers that the Imperial Government is prepared to sign the self-denying Protocol, as proposed in your Lordship's telegram No. 606 of the 6th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 365.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 395. Extender.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 11, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of the private note I wrote to Baron Jomini on the receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 637 of the 10th instant, as well as a copy of the reply which I received from his Excellency.

Your Lordship will perceive that, while stating that he has forwarded my note to Livadia, Baron Jomini goes on to say that Russia coincides with Her Majesty's Government as to the principle of respecting the proprietary rights of the Mussulman inhabitants who may possess real property in the districts which are about to be ceded to Montenegro.

His Excellency explains that the reason for which Russia has so far abstained from confirming this principle is because it is clearly contained in the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, which Montenegro has strictly adhered to as regards the districts which she has already received under that Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 365.

*Mr. Plunkett to Baron Jomini.*

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* 30 Août / 11 Septembre, 1880.

LORD GRANVILLE me télégraphie qu'il apprend du Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche que tous les Ambassadeurs à Constantinople, à la seule exception de celui de la Russie, sont d'accord pour insérer dans l'arrangement avec la Porte sur la question Monténégrine une clause portant que les Puissances Signataires auront soin que les droits de propriété des habitants Musulmans possédant des immeubles ("real property") dans les districts qui doivent être cédés au Monténégro ne seront lésés sous aucune forme ni à aucun titre par le Monténégro et ses autorités.

Le Gouvernement Anglais approuve entièrement cette clause, et Lord Granville m'exprime le désir que le Gouvernement Impérial consente à autoriser leur Représentant à s'y associer.

Dans l'espoir que votre Excellence voudra bien faire parvenir à Livadia ce désir de Lord Granville, et me faire savoir la réponse de M. de Giers, je profite, &c.
(Signé) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 365.

*Baron Jomini to Mr. Plunkett.*

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

JE n'ai pas manqué de transmettre à Livadia votre lettre du 30 Août concernant le désir de Lord Granville que la Russie s'associe aux autres Cabinets pour insérer dans l'arrangement avec la Porte sur la question Monténégrine une clause portant que les



Puissances Signataires auront soin que les droits de propriété des habitants Musulmans possédant des immeubles dans les districts cédés au Monténégro ne seront lésés sous aucune forme et à aucun titre par le Monténégro et ses autorités.

En attendant la décision de Livadia je crois pouvoir vous dire que le Cabinet Impérial est tout-à-fait d'accord avec ce principe, et que s'il s'est abstenu de la confirmer c'est parce qu'il résulte déjà nettement des stipulations du Traité de Berlin, que le Monténégro a accepté pour ce qui le concerne, et qu'il a strictement exécuté dans les territories qui lui ont été annexées.

Mille hommages, &c.
(Signé) N. JOMINI.

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No. 366.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 397.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 15, 1880.*

THE "Herold" newspaper of this morning announces that ten Bulgarian officers have arrived here lately to be instructed in the higher branches of military education. Eight of these officers are to enter the "Etat-Major," one goes to the Artillery Academy, and one to the Engineers' School.

The same paper adds that five Eastern Roumelian officers are also expected here shortly for the like purpose of completing their military education in Russian Academies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 367.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 400. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 15, 1880.*

IN the course of conversation this afternoon with Baron Jomini, I touched upon reports now current that Bulgaria was about to lend a sum of money to Eastern Roumelia.

His Excellency observed that he considered Eastern Roumelia was the richer of the two; but the Prince of Bulgaria had not sufficient power, under the present Constitution, to prevent many acts of which personally he disapproved, and a few wild enthusiasts were able to make propositions which it would be wiser to leave alone.

He then went on to say that the Prince had more than once appealed to the Emperor to assist him to alter the Constitution of Bulgaria; but this His Majesty had steadily refused to do on two grounds:—

1. His Majesty feared an outcry from Europe if he were to assume a leading part in the internal affairs of the Principality; and

2. As the change desired by the Prince is of a reactionary and conservative character, the Emperor did not wish to figure before his subjects as the patron of reactionary measures.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 368.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 401.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 15, 1880.*

I CALLED to-day upon Baron Jomini and asked him to telegraph to Livadia the memorandum, copy of which is herewith inclosed, embodying the substance of your Lordship's telegram No. 648 of yesterday, suggesting that it might be well that the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople should be empowered to settle the terms of the agreement respecting the Montenegrin frontier with the Porte, and to sign the Protocol confirming it.

His Excellency promised to transmit it at once. In the meantime, however, he said he felt sure that the Imperial Government would adhere both to this proposal and to that which I had made, as shown in the inclosed copy of my note to his Excellency, in compliance with your Lordship's telegram No. 640 of the 11th instant, that instructions should be sent to the Ambassadors to use firm and united language to the Porte as to the immediate execution of its engagements.

His Excellency regretted, however, that he could not yet give any official reply to this proposal. The fact was M. de Giers, on the receipt of these notes, usually sent the instructions direct from Livadia to M. de Novikow, and only communicated here some time afterwards the fact of his having done so.

I said that although, of course, the principal point was that the proposals of Her Majesty's Government should be accepted, and the necessary instructions sent to M. de Novikow, it was, nevertheless, often important, in view of maintaining the united action of all the Powers, that your Lordship should know as soon as possible that Russia had acceded to the views of Her Majesty's Government.

His Excellency promised to ask M. de Giers to telegraph in future to him the decisions of the Russian Government on the proposals of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 368.

*Memorandum handed to Baron Jomini by Mr. Plunkett, September 13, 1880.*

MR. GOSCHEN annonce qu'on pense à Constantinople qu'un arrangement formel doit être passé concernant la nouvelle ligne de frontière, et qu'il doit y avoir un Protocole signé par les Ambassadeurs acceptant cet arrangement à la place de celui combiné dans le Traité de Berlin, mais qu'en attendant Dulcigno doit être rendu au Monténégro sans attendre la signature de cet arrangement.

Le Gouvernement Anglais pense que pour éviter toute perte de temps, et en vue du changement de Ministère en Turquie, ce serait bien que tous les Ambassadeurs à Constantinople fussent autorisés à fixer avec la Porte les termes de cet arrangement concernant le Monténégro, et à signer le Protocole.

(Signé) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 368.

*Mr. Plunkett to Baron Jomini.*

*St. Petersburgh, September 13, 1880.*

M. le Baron,

I HAVE the honour to state that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires has reported from Scutari that the arrival of volunteers and their dispatch to Dulcigno is proceeding with the same freedom now as in the end of July, and that, for the present, the regular troops sent in that direction must be looked upon as intended to oppose the action of the Powers.

In consequence of this information Lord Granville has expressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople a hope that there will be no further delay in presenting the collective note, and his Excellency has been authorized to state to the Porte that immediate action is expected, and that Her Majesty's Government disclaim all responsibility for the results that may arise in consequence of delay.

Her Majesty's Government trust that all the Powers will see the importance of instructing their Ambassadors to join Mr. Goschen in holding firm and united language to the Porte as to the necessity of the immediate execution of its engagements.

I venture to hope that the Imperial Government will also accede to this proposal, and I should deem it a favour if you would kindly obtain for me an early answer from Livadia to this suggestion of Her Majesty's Government.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 369.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 428. Extender.)

*Berlin, September 14, 1880.*

My Lord,

COUNT LIMBURG STIRUM, to whom I communicated the substance of your Lordship's late telegrams, told me to-day that instructions have already been sent to Count Hatzfeldt at Constantinople, authorizing him to act with his colleagues on all points agreed upon by the Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 370.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 434. Extender.)

*Berlin, September 18, 1880.*

My Lord,

COUNT LIMBURG STIRUM, to whom I communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegram received yesterday, said that Count Hatzfeldt would be instructed to act with his colleagues whenever the Powers were agreed as to the proposed declaration to the Porte that no more concessions would be asked in regard to the Montenegrin frontier, provided that the Austrian line was at once accepted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 371.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 561. Confidential.)

*Vienna, September 15, 1880.*

My Lord,

I WAS struck this afternoon by the energy with which Baron Haymerle spoke of the necessity of the Greek Frontier question being properly carried through, saying that he looked upon the development and extension of Greece as matters of the greatest importance.

I said that I entirely agreed with him, and I could promise that he would find Her Majesty's Government of the same opinion; but I asked what course he would propose to adopt if the Porte opposed a stubborn resolution to refuse to submit to the Berlin Award.

He answered that, when the Montenegrin frontier had been arranged, that question must be taken into consideration, and the main features of the Award must be maintained and secured for Greece, but that he was not in favour of too precipitate action in such matters, and believed that satisfactory solutions were better arrived at by steady pressure and negotiations, possibly with trifling concessions upon secondary points.

I observed that after a distinct Award, such as had been made by the Conference of Berlin, it seemed to me that any departure from it would prevent the Greeks from looking at the arrangement as permanent, and occasion renewed agitation for a fresh extension.

He said that he did not think much of that argument, for no one could seriously believe that if the Greeks now obtained the whole of what is now proposed they would renounce their endeavours to get more, to which he for one would have no objection when the proper time came.

I would not have your Lordship understand that Baron Haymerle showed any disposition to draw back from the Berlin Award, which would be quite contrary to the truth, but he conveyed his impression that the Award, with perhaps insignificant modifications, might be carried out by patient negotiation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 372.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 564.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 15, 1880.*

BARON HAYMERLE alluded to-day to the persistent statements in the newspapers, that Prince Charles had been availing himself of his visit to Vienna and Germany to press for his recognition as King of Roumania.

There was, he said, no foundation whatever for the report, as the Prince had not touched upon the subject either to himself or to Prince Bismarck.

He thought the time might come when Prince Charles' wish to obtain the title of King might be fairly entertained, but this would be after the East was in a more settled state than it was in at present.

He made no similar observation regarding the Prince of Servia, and intimated that, if His Highness assumed the Royal title without the consent of the Powers, as M. Ristich had several times hinted, it could not be recognized.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 373.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 565.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 15, 1880.*

BARON HAYMERLE'S language to-day about the reforms in Turkey was thoroughly satisfactory.

He spoke in terms of warm praise of the project elaborated by the Eastern Roumelian Commission, which was one that the Turkish Government could perfectly put into execution, and every effort should be made to induce it to do so.

He was not himself one of those who believed in the possibility of at once substituting a good for a bad Administration in a country where capable and honest officials were not to be found; but it could not be doubted that there would be a notable improvement if the system proposed by the Commission is put in operation, and the Powers were entitled to see that it was carried out.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 374.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 566. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 16, 1880.*

RÉOUF PASHA, the late Governor-General of Adrianople, passed through Vienna to-day on his return to Constantinople from the German baths, and believing him to be likely to see the Sultan upon his arrival, I spoke to him, with the freedom warranted by a long intimacy, of the suicidal madness of the course that was being followed by the Porte.

I said that, with respect to the Montenegrin frontier, his Government had not only acted unwisely, but in a manner that was the reverse of creditable to them; for after signing, first the Treaty of San Stefano, then the Treaty of Berlin, and afterwards the April Convention, they had resorted to all sorts of shifts to evade the fulfilment of their engagements, till it appeared almost as if they had intended to provoke the demonstration of force by the Powers, which was now imminent.

He admitted that this was quite his own opinion, and further that the alleged difficulties in the way of the cession of Dulcigno had never existed, as he was convinced that its transfer to Montenegro might have been made at any moment if the populations had been plainly informed that such were the Sultan's orders.

I said that what it was essential for the Sultan and his Ministers now to understand is that they are deceiving themselves if they imagine that there is, or that there will be,



any difference among the Powers respecting either the Montenegrin or the Greek frontier, and that they will be responsible for incalculable misfortune to their country if they guide themselves by any such delusive calculation; that the sacrifice demanded was no doubt painful, but that no country, however powerful or high-spirited, could lose credit or honour by yielding to the united will of six great Powers, whose will had now been clearly expressed, and would certainly be maintained.

The Pasha said that he himself saw that the only safety for his country lay in a prompt acceptance of the inevitable, and asked if he might repeat what I had said to the Sultan.

I told him that I should wish him to do so; that I believed that I was known at Constantinople as having always entertained friendly feelings for Turkey, and, if he had the opportunity, he might assure His Majesty that the opinions I had been expressing were those of one who was still a sincere well-wisher to his Empire.

Réouf Pasha is a high-minded, honourable man, who could render good service if called upon; but he lost favour at the Palace for venturing to hold different language to the Sultan from that of Said Pasha, the present Prime Minister, under whom it is, therefore, doubtful whether he will be called upon to serve, though there have of late been some signs of His Majesty being better disposed towards him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 375.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)*

(No. 568. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 17, 1880.*

I HAVE had the honour to receive your yesterday's telegram, directing me to take an early opportunity of asking M. de Kállay how he would propose to deal with the various questions relating to the execution of the Berlin Treaty, of which he had spoken, as reported in my despatch No. 552 of the 9th instant.

I have more than once endeavoured to extract an opinion upon that point, though without success; but, as Baron Haymerle has now returned from his leave of absence, I will make a fresh attempt with his Excellency upon his return from Pesth, where he proceeds for a few days, to-day or to-morrow morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 376.

*Abédine Pasha to Musurus Bey.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September 20.)*

*Le 11 Septembre*, 1880.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

POUR faire suite à mes précédentes communications, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-joint, pour votre information, copie d'un Rapport ayant trait aux préparatifs militaires poursuivis par la Principauté de Bulgarie.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) ABDÉINE.

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A son Excellence Abédine Pacha,

*Rustchuk, le 28 Juillet*, 1880.

M. le Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que des expéditions Russes de canons, fusils, et de munitions de guerre arrivent continuellement ici, et sont dirigées vers Vidin, Tirnova, Choumla, et Silistrie.

Dans ces derniers temps, des officiers Russes appartenant à toutes le armes et tous les grades sont arrivés et arrivent journellement ici venant de Reni (Bessarabie) et d'Odessa, voie de Varna, et se dirigent sur les points plus hauts mentionnés. La plupart sont vêtus en bourgeois.

Sous prétexte de former des Sociétés de Gymnase, beaucoup de jeunes Bulgares s'enrôlent comme volontaires dans l'intérieur du pays.

Ces informations qui précèdent, je les tiens comme authentiques et des meilleures sources. Il appartient à votre Excellence d'en juger la valeur. Quant à l'arrivée des officiers Russes, j'en ai vu plusieurs de mes propres yeux.

Je suis de jour en jour plus convaincu qu'un mouvement sérieux se combine en Bulgarie et que c'est la Roumélie Orientale qui en est l'objectif.

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No. 377.

*Assym Pasha to Musurus Bey.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September 20.)*

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 15 Septembre*, 1880.

IL résulte des informations qui nous parviennent de tous côtés que les troupes Monténégrines, avec de l'artillerie, se massent à Antivari pour passer la frontière et envahir Dulcigno.

Je n'ai pas besoin de faire ressortir ici tous les dangers et inconvénients qui résulteraient d'une mesure aussi précipitée qu'inopportune.

Les Puissances dans leur haute sollicitude pour le maintien de la tranquillité en Orient, doivent être persuadées, nous aimons à le croire, du désir loyal et sincère de la Sublime Porte d'arriver à une solution prompte et satisfaisante de la question Monténégrine en apaisant graduellement la surexcitation de la population locale et en écartant toute éventualité de conflits et de complications.

Ce désir est plus que jamais impérieux à l'heure qu'il est, et des mesures nécessaires viennent d'être ordonnées pour la cession au Gouvernement du Prince Nikita des territoires qui ont fait l'objet de la proposition de la Sublime Porte en date du 18 Août

ce serait rendre illusoire tous les efforts que fait le Gouvernement Impérial en vue

d'autant plus que la situation relativement plus calme des esprits permettra, l'espérons-nous, d'effectuer cette cession sans secousse, et devra naturellement avoir pour résultat d'écarter le projet de démonstration navale.

Autoriser, précisément à ce moment, une action armée de la part du Monténégro et une prise de possession qui, faite de cette manière, serait complètement en dehors de la proposition conciliante faite à diverses reprises par la

d'assurer l'apaisement, détruire le prestige de l'autorité souveraine dans les autres parties de l'Empire et provoquer dès lors des difficultés imprévues.

Nous sommes certains que le Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité, dans ses sentiments d'équité et son de la conservation de la paix voudra bien faire en sorte qu'il ne soit pas donné suite aux préparatifs militaires en question.

Veuillez donner lecture de cette dépêche à son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, en vous attachant à faire prévaloir avec votre tact et votre savoir-faire les raisons impérieuses qui viennent d'être énoncées et qui ne manqueraient point de créer une situation des plus anormales qu'il est de l'intérêt commun de prévenir.

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No. 378.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 20.)*

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, September 20*, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a despatch dated the 16th instant, from Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour, reporting the events which have taken place since the 4th instant in connection with the proposed cession of the Dulcigno district by the Porte to Montenegro, and describing the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 378.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *"Alexandra," at Gravosa, September 16*, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for their Lordships' information, a summary of the events which have taken place since the 4th instant in connection with the proposed cession of the Dulcigno district by the Porte to Montenegro; and I regret to add that the present state of affairs appears to me to be eminently unsatisfactory.

2. On reaching Gravosa on the 4th I had placed myself in communication with Mr. Kirby Green, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Scutari, from whom, or from the Austrian authorities here, the scanty information which I forwarded to their Lordships in the following telegrams was derived:—

"No. 55. Saturday, 4th.—Arrived, Austrian Admiral, with two ironclads here; his flag in a wooden frigate. Russian Admiral gone to see Prince Montenegro; his frigate here.

"Nothing is known of French. Am I to wait their arrival before entering on business? English Consul absent from Ragusa."

"No. 56. 10th.—Consul Green telegraphs five battalions Turks, four guns, left Scutari to occupy new Montenegrin boundary, in the interests of the Prince."

Unfortunately the report that Riza Pasha had marched five battalions into the Dulcigno district, for the purpose of assisting the Montenegrins to enter into possession of it, proved untrue. The force in question, consisting of four battalions, left Scutari on the 8th, but it advanced no further than the positions of Beila and Goriza, *vide* Austrian map, where it remains. One battalion of Turks is in garrison in Dulcigno.

3. My telegram addressed to their Lordships on the 14th ran as follows:—

"French Admiral and three ships arrived. Reported that Montenegrin troops are marching from Cettinjé to Dulcigno. 'Helicon,' with Captain Sale, goes to Antivari to-morrow to ascertain."

The Montenegrin army did quit Cettinjé on that day, in readiness to take possession of the town of Dulcigno on the 15th, under the protection of the ships of the Allied Powers. I only became acquainted with this measure at noon of yesterday, the 15th, when I was waited on by the Montenegrin Conseiller d'Etat, G. Vouconich, who brought me a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Cettinjé, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

4. On the previous night, that of the 14th, the French contingent, under Rear-Admiral Lafont, having arrived in the forenoon, and I having been without any information whatever from Mr. Green since the 8th instant, I had sent Captain Sale, R.E. (whose services had been placed at my disposal), to Antivari in the "Helicon," for the purpose of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the position held by the Montenegrin forces, and on the 15th, in anticipation of his return by the morning of the 16th, I summoned a meeting of the Representatives of the Allied Powers to take place on board the "Alexandra" at 11 A.M. of the 16th.

Within three hours of my having sent out the letter of summons I received a visit from the Austrian Rear-Admiral, Eberan von Eberhorst, to ask if I had any objection to his being represented at the Conference by Captain Nauta, of the "Custoza," his next senior officer. To this somewhat extraordinary request I replied that, while he, Rear-Admiral Eberan von Eberhorst, was present I could not recognize Captain Nauta, for whom I have the highest respect, as the Representative of Austria. The Admiral appeared to be perfectly satisfied with my decision.

5. At 6·30 P.M. of the 15th I received a private letter from Consul-General Green, dated Scutari, the 13th instant, being the first communication which had reached me from him since the 6th. I extract the following information from it, which, as their Lordships' will observe, proposes an undefined period for the settlement of the vexatious question of the cession of Dulcigno:—

"The Montenegrin Government has been very anxious to keep us to the 15th for the commencement of active operations, but I have been instructed from home to inform the Prince that he must have patience until all has been thoroughly arranged between the Powers.

"I have also received renewed orders not to move from this as yet. Of course, no movement of the fleet ought to take place before sufficient notice has been given to me, and after all hope of a peaceable conclusion has disappeared. When this comes about, I should be allowed sufficient time to get my family out of the country, as I have no intention whatever that it should run the risks which would necessarily arise if the fleet was obliged to open fire on the volunteers.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE LONDON

"Up to the present the Powers are still endeavouring to fall in with the views of the Porte about the frontier to the east of the lake, and I only received last night a telegram announcing Russia's adhesion to the last modification proposed by Austria. The Emperor has still to consent to a clause which the Powers wish to insert into the agreement with the Porte, insuring to the Mussulmans of Dulcigno their property, &c.

"The Montenegrins have announced that they will be ready by the 15th, either to receive the peaceful surrender of the territories in question, or to proceed to occupy them under the protection of the fleet. All this requires previous arrangement, and not too much trust must be placed on the frequently too confident ideas of the Montenegrins. Necessarily, we must meet before active measures commence, and I shall endeavour to come armed with all the information available."

This unofficial letter from Consul-General Green would lead me to believe that the instructions under which he is acting are by no means identical with mine, the substance of which is well known to the foreign Commanders present.

6. At the meeting, therefore, which duly took place on board the "Alexandra" this morning, I adhered strictly to the course laid down in the last paragraph in page 5 of their Lordships' Order M. 435 of the 8th September, 1880, and I concerted with them how the joint naval force might most effectively be displayed off Dulcigno. When this point was settled, I mentioned the fact of Mr. Kirby Green's family being still in the district, and stated my wish that time should be given him to remove them. The Austrian Admiral, whose knowledge of the country is great, immediately said that any display of ships off Dulcigno before the families of Mr. Green and others were removed would inevitably lead to their being massacred by the Albanians, and, after a short discussion, it was unanimously agreed—

(1.) That I should immediately telegraph as well as write to Mr. Kirby Green, as the Doyen of the Consular body, directing him to take instant steps for the removal of their families to a place of safety.

(2.) That I should direct him to represent to me when this measure shall have been carried into effect.

(3.) That I should inform the Pasha commanding at Scutari that the allies will hold him responsible for the safety of the families of the Consular Corps while they are still in Turkish territory.

(4.) That the display of the allied forces before Dulcigno shall not take place until measures laid down in paragraphs 1 and 2 have been carried out.

Thus a delay of at least a week must inevitably take place, which no one can regret more than I do.

7. The present state of parties in the Dulcigno district is as follows, so far as information, not always reliable, can be obtained:—

The Turkish regular forces are said to be at Scutari, Goriza, and Dulcigno. There are also parties of Turkish troops at the passages of the Boyana River; a great number of Albanians from the countries north of Lake Scutari are massed at and near the town of Dulcigno itself; a fortified line extending from the sea-coast along the summit and slopes of the Mazara mountain, descending through the Vela of Gorana to the Bridge of Neskovic, and thus to the summit of the crest of the mountains between the lake and the sea, above the village of Kaliman, has been constructed by the Albanians. On the chain of mountains above Kaliman are said to be a considerable number of Albanians, with some disguised Turkish soldiers.

8. The Montenegrin army, to the number of 6,000 men, equipped in their usual fashion, is collected under the command of Bosio Petrovich in the woods near the fortress of Sutterman. The Montenegrin outposts extend as far as the village of Kunia, in the direction of Dulcigno.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 378.

*M. Radonvchtt to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

*Cettigné, le* $\frac{1}{13}$ *September*, 1880.

M. l'Amiral,

PERMETTEZ-MOI de présenter à votre Excellence le porteur de la présente, M. Gavro Voucovitch, Secrétaire du Conseil d'Etat de la Principauté, qui est chargé par Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas, mon gracieux Maître, de se rendre à Ragusa pour soumiter de sa part la bienvenue aux Commandants de la flotte unie.



Je prends la liberté de recommander M. Voucovitch à votre Excellence comme au plus ancien des Commandants de la flotte unie, tout en espérant que vous voudrez bien le faire introduire auprès de vos collègues.

M. Voucovitch a l'ordre de se mettre aussi entièrement à la disposition de votre Excellence en cas que vous désireriez avoir des nouvelles sur la situation du Monténégro.

Veuillez, &c.
Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
(Signé) G. S. RADOUVCHTT.

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No. 379.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20, 8·50 A.M.)

(No. 105.)
(Telegraphic) *Scutari, September* 19, 1880, 10 P.M.

FOLLOWING telegraphed to Admiral at Ragusa:—

"Your despatches, by your Flag Captain, arrived but a few hours after your telegram of 16th, this morning.

"I have communicated to my colleagues the notice you give us, and we meet to-morrow to decide on it, but most of them state that they cannot move without instructions from their Government.

"I have received authority from Foreign Office to leave Scutari when I think it desirable, and I shall probably accompany Flag Captain.

"Riza Pasha has been informed that probably to-morrow morning summons for the surrender of the ceded territory will be handed in. His demeanour was not calculated to make one hope for a successful result from the contemplated step."

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No. 380.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20.)

(No. 99.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September* 20, 1880.

YOUR Lordship's 549.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has sent the desired instructions to German Ambassador at Constantinople similar to those sent by your Lordship to Mr. Goschen.

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No. 381.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20.)

(No. 237.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 20, 1880.

WITH reference to several of my telegrams last week, I should explain that neither I nor any of my colleagues have known how soon the Powers, in view of the latest moves and counter-moves of Porte, intended the Admirals to proceed to act on their instructions, and that we rather expected to have had notice that the moment for the actual demonstration had come. The passage in the note of the 3rd August seemed to us only to contemplate a naval demonstration under circumstances which have not occurred (see my despatch No. 209, paragraphs 5, 10, and 15). Thus we anticipated some further declaration, but I now gather your Lordship's view [groups omitted], and that the passage in the note of the 3rd August must be interpreted as it is quoted in the Admiral's instructions.

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No. 382.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 20, 1·50 P.M.)

(No. 97.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 20, 1880, 12·15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 465.

In the present state of internal affairs, M. de Courcel does not feel justified in sending any particular instructions to French Ambassador at Constantinople, but he considers that

those already sent in the last days will be sufficient to authorize his Excellency to join with his colleagues in stating if the Porte loyally carries out the proposal before it, no more concessions will be demanded for Montenegro.

He reminded me that the French Government has never made a point of any particular line to the east of lake, and said they would be willing to abide by the *status quo*, but they would not separate themselves from the other Powers in this matter.

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No. 383.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20, 6·30 P.M.)*

(No. 152.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 20, 1880, 5 P.M.*

AUSTRIAN Ambassador at Constantinople has been authorized to make the communication to the Porte proposed in your Lordship's telegram to Mr. Goschen No. 549, if all the other Representatives do the same.

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No. 384.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 552.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 20, 1880, 8·5 P.M.*

TURKISH Chargé d'Affaires asked me to-day whether I could give any answer to the telegram communicated by him on Saturday.

I said that I could not undertake to give any single reply with regard to a question which was being treated by the Powers jointly, and that the Ambassadors at Constantinople had instructions on all matters affecting the Montenegrin frontier question.

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No. 385.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 491.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 20, 1880.*

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your Excellency's despatch No. 328 of the 6th instant, relative to the negotiations for the signature of the self-denying Protocol, and the question of making a declaration to the Porte that no further concessions in favour of the minor States would be demanded of the Ottoman Empire; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government concur in the views you express as to the manner and time of making any such declaration.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 386.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 496 A.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 20, 1880.*

MUSURUS BEY called to-day, and read me the despatch, of which I inclose a copy, from the Porte, forwarding a Report on the military preparations in Bulgaria.

I told Musurus Bey that I greatly regretted the state of affairs in the Principality which this Report described, and that I was in consultation with other Powers upon the subject; but I could not help feeling that much of the agitation prevailing in the Balkan Peninsula was due to the delay which the Porte itself was causing in the proper execution of the Treaty of Berlin. I added my belief that, if the outstanding frontier questions were once disposed of, the effervescence in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia would soon subside.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 387.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 497 A. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 20, 1880.*

MUSURUS BEY inquired to-day whether I was able to give him an answer to the telegram from the Porte respecting the naval demonstration, which he had communicated to me on the 18th instant, and of which I transmitted a copy to your Excellency in my despatch No. 501, Confidential, of the 23rd instant.

I told Musurus Bey that I could not undertake to give any single reply upon a matter which was being treated by the Powers jointly, and that the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople were in possession of instructions on all matters affecting the question of the Montenegrin frontier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 388.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 114.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 20, 1880.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 275 of the 26th ultimo, explaining the origin of Mr. Consul Reade's visit to Scutari, and I approve of your having requested Mr. Reade to come to Scutari in order that you might obtain his opinion respecting the characters of some of the prominent natives.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 389.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.*

(No. 519 C.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 20, 1880.*

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and conversed at some length on the question of the Montenegrin frontier.

His Excellency told me that his Government had called upon Riza Pasha either to substantiate or to retract his accusation against the Italian Consul at Scutari of secretly opposing the cession of Dulcigno.

He added that the Italian Government were ready to join in the two declarations to the Turkish Government which had recently been proposed, to the effect that the proprietary rights of the Mussulman inhabitants in the districts to be ceded to Montenegro should be duly secured, and that no further territorial concessions would be demanded of Turkey in favour of Montenegro if the Porte accepts the proposal last made to it as regards the line of frontier.

General Menabrea gave me an account of the answer returned by the Italian Government to the last Circular of the Porte similar to the version given in your telegram No. 130 of the 10th instant. He said that the Italian Government looked upon this last communication merely as a pretext for further delay, but that they were ready to join in giving to the Porte all the guarantees which could properly be required for the final and satisfactory settlement of the question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 390.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 332.)
*Philippopoli, September 5, 1880.*

My Lord,

I AM informed that the Provincial Government have decided to finally accept the resignation of M. Yancoloff, Prefect of Bourgas, whose conduct, as your Lordship is aware, was reprimanded in the Report of the Aïdos Commissioners.

He will be replaced by M. Tsankoff, the present Prefect of Tatar-Bazardjik.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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No. 391.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 334. Confidential.)
*Philippopoli, September 11, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 325 of the 27th ultimo, and to my telegram No. 87, I learn from Mr. Brophy that two sets of non-commissioned Russian officers, numbering 12 and 13 respectively, disembarked at Bourgas on the 19th and 26th ultimo.

Mr. Brophy further reports to me that he has been informed that forty-two sergeants in all were ready at the time at Odessa to start together, but that their departure was at the last moment countermanded.

It appears, therefore, that the remonstrances of the Governor-General have not been without effect. While consenting to sanction the contract alleged to have been negotiated, his Excellency wrote a formal letter to General Strecker requesting him to state the conditions under which the contract had been drawn up. At the same time he addressed another note to the Permanent Committee, requesting their opinion as to how far such a contract was in accordance with Articles 406 and 407 of the Organic Statute.

General Strecker's reply, I am told, is evasive. He omits to reply to the main question, or to mention that twenty-five Russian sergeants have already arrived in the province, but lays stress on the great want of instructors for the militia, and begs the Governor-General to authorize him to apply to Russia for some.

This explanation is the more mysterious from the fact of the undoubted existence of a large number (150 copies I am told) of printed forms of the contract of which I had the honour to forward to your Lordship a copy in my above-mentioned despatch.

No answer has as yet been received from the Permanent Committee.

Meanwhile the dissatisfaction among the Bulgarian officers of the Roumelian militia has much increased. They held a meeting last Sunday, at which it was decided to send a deputation to the Permanent Committee with a view—

1. To explain the disadvantage at which native officers and non-commissioned officers were placed by the favour shown to Russians serving in the militia.
2. To inquire by what right Captain Ek interfered in the military organization of the province.
3. To demand a strict inquiry into the conduct of officers who have misconducted themselves.
4. To request that no more non-commissioned Russian officers be employed.

I now learn that the deputation was received the day before yesterday by the Permanent Committee, who stated that the matter would receive their attention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

P.S.—General Strecker left Philippopoli last Sunday on a tour of military inspection through the province.

A. C. S.

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No. 392.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 335.)
*Philippopoli, September 11, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 325 of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship such information as I have been able to collect respecting the strength and condition of the East Roumelian militia and gendarmerie.

1. A Table showing strength of regular militia.
2. A Table describing equipment.
3. Nominal roll of officers serving, giving nationality of each.
4. A Table showing the strength of the gendarmerie and giving nationality of the non-commissioned officers.
5. A nominal list of foreigners serving as officers in the gendarmerie.
6. List of foreigners serving as non-commissioned officers in that force.

Your Lordship will observe that eleven out of the twelve droujines are commanded by Russian officers; that of 38 gendarme officers 14 are Russians, and that there are 28 Russian sergeants in the gendarmerie, the total number, together with sergeant-majors, being 73.

I regret that I have been unable as yet to procure an accurate list of the non-commissioned officers of the militia. I am however informed that there are, at the present moment, 55 Russian sergeants serving in it, including those recently arrived.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 392.

STRENGTH of Regular Militia.

| | Strength as fixed by Budget. | Strength according to General Order issued June 14/26, 1880. | Strength from 1st August to 30th September, General Order, dated 6th August. | | To be called under Arms. | To be Dismissed. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Number. | Recruits. | Recruits. | Old Soldiers. |
| School Battalion Staff .. .. | 13 | 13 | 13 | .. | .. | .. |
| Infantry, 2 Companies .. .. | 468 | 302 | 468 | 300 | 160 | 84 |
| Cavalry squadron .. .. | 168 | 122 | 168 | 100 | 50 | 14 |
| Cavalry squadron .. .. | 160 | 124 | 160 | 100 | 50 | 14 |
| Half-battery of Artillery .. .. | 109 | 86 | 109 | 50 | 40 | 17 |
| Engineer Company .. .. | 82 | 92 | 82 | 30 | 20 | .. |
| Sappers .. .. .. | 35 | 35 | 35 | .. | .. | .. |
| Band .. .. .. | | | | | | |
| Infantry— | | | | | | |
| Droujine I .. .. | 718 | 604 | 718 | 450 | 240 | 126 |
| " II .. .. | 250 | 212 | 250 | 150 | 80 | 42 |
| " III .. .. | 250 | 212 | 250 | 150 | 80 | 42 |
| " IV .. .. | 250 | 212 | 232 | 150 | 80 | 60 |
| " V .. .. | 250 | 212 | 232 | 150 | 80 | 60 |
| " VI .. .. | 250 | 212 | 232 | 150 | 80 | 60 |
| " VII .. .. | 250 | 212 | 250 | 150 | 80 | 42 |
| " VIII .. .. | 250 | 212 | 250 | 150 | 80 | 42 |
| " IX .. .. | 250 | 212 | 232 | 150 | 80 | 60 |
| " X .. .. | 718 | 604 | 604 | 450 | 240 | 180 |
| " XI .. .. | 250 | 212 | 250 | 150 | 80 | 42 |
| " XII .. .. | 718 | 604 | 718 | 450 | 240 | 126 |



PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Second lot of Recruits will be drawn from the Districts.

| Name of District. | Total Number of Recruits. | School Battalion. | Number of Droujina. | Number of Recruits. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Philippopoli (Town) | 200 | 50 | I | 240 |
| „ (District) | 92 | 12 | II | 80 |
| Tatar-Bazardjik | 105 | 25 | III | 80 |
| Carlovo | 110 | 30 | IV | 80 |
| | | | V | 80 |
| Kezanlik | 272 | 50 | X | 120 |
| | | | XII | 50 |
| Eski-Zaghra | 100 | 20 | VI | 80 |
| Slivno | 100 | 20 | VII | 80 |
| Yamboli | 110 | 30 | VIII | 80 |
| Hermanli | 172 | 32 | IX | 80 |
| Haskoui | 158 | 20 | X | 120 |
| Aidos | 96 | 16 | XI | 80 |
| Bourgas | 155 | 16 | XII | 130 |
| Total | 1,760 | 320 | | 1,440 |

Inclosure 2 in No. 392.

Equipment of Militia and Gendarmerie of East Roumelia.

MILITIA.

| Regiment. | District. | Rifles. | | | Cartridges. | | Revolvers. | Swords. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Krinka. | Martini. | Snider. | Krinka. | Martini. | | |
| School Battalion— | | | | | | | | |
| 1 and 2 Companies | Philippopoli | 362 | .. | .. | 12,676 | .. | .. | .. |
| Sappers | „ | .. | 150 | .. | .. | 11,700 | .. | .. |
| Cavalry squadron | „ | .. | 110 | .. | .. | 3,675 | 179 | 112 |
| Artillery | (?) | (?) | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Infantry— | | | | | | | | |
| Droujina I | Philippopoli | 1,051 | .. | .. | 155,475 | .. | .. | .. |
| „ II | „ | 390 | .. | .. | 64,280 | .. | .. | .. |
| „ III | Tatar-Bazardjik | 302 | .. | .. | 96,024 | .. | .. | .. |
| „ IV | Carlova | 295 | .. | .. | 32,016 | .. | 3 | .. |
| „ V | Kezanlik | 267 | .. | .. | 133,921 | .. | 3 | .. |
| „ VI | Eski-Zaghra | 815 | .. | .. | 724,272 | .. | 19 | .. |
| „ VII | Slivno | 301 | .. | .. | 75,360 | .. | 1 | .. |
| „ VIII | Yamboli | 309 | .. | .. | 50,000 | .. | .. | .. |
| „ IX | Hermanli | 341 | .. | .. | 1,426 | .. | .. | .. |
| „ X | Haskoui | 1,021 | .. | .. | 316,080 | .. | 9 | .. |
| „ XI | Aidos | 351 | .. | .. | 38,952 | .. | .. | .. |
| „ XII | Bourgas | 1,193 | .. | .. | 1,000,000 | .. | .. | .. |
| Central Arsenal | Philippopoli | 42 | .. | 310 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Total | .. | 5,976 | .. | 310 | 2,700,016 | .. | 214 | 112 |

GENDARMERIE.

| | Swords. | Revolvers. | Krinka. | Martini. | Peabody. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Départments | 1,175 | 402 | 726 | 368 | 91 |
| Central Arsenal | 134 | 25 | 415 | .. | .. |
| Total | 1,309 | 427 | 1,141 | 368 | 91 |



Inclosure 3 in No. 392.

Nominal Roll of the Officers in the East Roumelian Militia.

| Name. | Rank. | Nationality. |
|---|---|---|
| Strecker | General | German. |
| Baron de Toustain | Lieutenant-Colonel | French. |
| Minkoff | Captain | Bulgarian. |
| Jacobson | „ | Russian. |
| Mercenier | „ (Staff) | Austrian. |
| Matschinski | „ | Russian. |
| Veklelah | „ (Staff) | „ |
| Labanowski | „ | „ |
| Petuni | „ | „ |
| Domialshef | „ | „ |
| Schdanoff | „ | „ |
| Roussen | „ | „ |
| Taschteroff | „ | „ |
| Lubowski | „ (Staff) | „ |
| Isnaff | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Tchovasoff | „ | „ |
| Fileff | „ (Aide-de-camp to Governor-General) | „ |
| Treulavius | „ | Russian. |
| Ginloff | „ | „ |
| Nicoloff | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Kovalenski | „ | Russian. |
| Titzoi | First Lieutenant | German. |
| Von Bessel | „ | „ |
| Walther | „ | „ |
| Von Wetinghoff | „ (Aide-de-camp to General Strecker) | „ |
| Von Moch | „ | „ |
| Treeberz | „ | Russian. |
| Petroff | „ | „ |
| Georgeviteh | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Danzoff | „ | Russian |
| Nalbokoff | „ | „ |
| Kitschki | „ | „ |
| Stoyianoff | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Soyanoff | „ | Russian. |
| Georgevitch | „ | „ |
| Schmieski | „ | „ |
| Nosolewski | „ | „ |
| Markuroff | „ | „ |
| Schola | Lieutenant | Austrian. |
| Hohenanos | „ (has served in Russian army) | German. |
| Nicolaieff | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Dykoff | „ | Russian. |
| Beskowski | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Masnkoff | „ | Russian. |
| Nicolaieff IV | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Tchubalchof | „ | „ |
| Bliskoff | „ | „ |
| Paunitza | „ | „ |
| Sarnfoff | „ | „ |
| Pariotschierski | „ | Russian. |
| Ammassoff | „ | Bulgarian. |
| Okoschkoff | „ | Russian. |
| Massinoff | „ | „ |
| Drondrewski | „ | „ |
| Marinoff | „ (Aide-de-camp to Governor-General) | Bulgarian. |
| Balabanoff | „ (studied at Military College, Sophia) | „ |
| Balscheff | „ | „ |
| Ivanoff | „ | „ |
| Karalcheff | „ | „ |
| Tascheff | „ | „ |
| Schecnoff | „ | „ |
| Heff | „ | „ |
| Batoff | „ | „ |
| Turnaolakoff | „ | „ |
| Andref | „ | „ |
| Atanasoff | „ | „ |
| Melnikoneff | „ | „ |
| Ivanoff | „ | „ |
| Tscherenoff | „ | „ |

| Name. | Rank. | Nationality. |
|---|---|---|
| Bayanoff .. .. | Lieutenant (studied at Military College, Sophia) | Bulgarian. |
| Beloff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Denutieff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Saffoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Petroff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Tsankoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Boschelkoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Nikuscheff .. .. | " " " .. (Aide-de-camp to Governor-General) | " |
| Galunski .. .. | Lieutenant (studied at Military College, Sophia) | " |
| Ivanoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Ivanoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Kyntschoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Kladnoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Anastasoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Gulmesoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Nikolaeff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Veltscheff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Batuschanoff .. | " " " .. | " |
| Dintsheff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Vulkoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Velef .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Radieff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Valnasoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Balabasheff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Stefanoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Dobreff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Airanoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Petroff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Boyadschieff .. | " " " .. | " |
| Gumersheff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Kerkoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Penoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Peeff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Todoroff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Stoeff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Minkoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Erstatieff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Peneff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Tokloda Ranoff .. | " " " .. | " |
| Arnandoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Stoinoff .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Koslorski .. .. | " " " .. | " |
| Bokardakieff .. | " " " .. | Russian. |
| Lukoff .. .. | " " " .. | Bulgarian. |
| Ouzatis .. .. | " " " .. | Russian. |
| Bolteff .. .. | " " " .. | Bulgarian. |
| Visokoff .. .. | " (Military School, Odessa) .. | " |
| Amschenski .. .. | " .. .. .. .. | " |

| | Bulgarian. | Russian. | German. | Austrian. | French. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 General .. .. .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. |
| 1 Lieutenant-Colonel .. .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| 19 Captains .. .. .. | 5 | 13 | .. | 1 | .. |
| 17 First Lieutenants .. .. | 2 | 10 | 5 | .. | .. |
| 81 Lieutenants .. .. .. | 73 | 7 | .. | 1 | .. |
| 119 | 80* | 30 | 6 | 2 | 1 |

* Many of the Bulgarian officers have held Commissions in the Russian army.



Inclosure 4 in No. 392.

STRENGTH of East Roumelian Gendarmerie.

| No. | District. | Officers. | Sergeant-Majors. Mounted. | Sergeant-Majors. Foot. | Sergeants. Mounted. | Sergeants. Foot. | Corporals. Mounted. | Corporals. Foot. | Privates. Mounted. | Privates. Foot. | Total Non-Commissioned Officers. Mounted. | Total Non-Commissioned Officers. Foot. | Nationality of Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates. Bulgarians. | Turks. | Greeks. | Armenians. | Russians. | Montenegrins. | Servians. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Philippopoli, town .. .. | 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 60 | 95 | 70 | 110 | 122 | 40 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | " district .. .. | 7 | 1 | .. | 5 | 5 | 10 | 13 | 80 | 108 | 96 | 126 | 173 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 4 | .. |
| 3 | Bourgas .. .. .. | 4 | 1 | .. | 4 | 5 | 10 | 12 | 72 | 143 | 87 | 160 | 211 | 23 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 3 | .. |
| 4 | Slivno .. .. .. | 5 | .. | 1 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 51 | 100 | 60 | 119 | 140 | 20 | 15 | .. | 4 | .. | .. |
| 5 | Stara Zagora .. .. .. | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 11 | 25 | 92 | 30 | 110 | 116 | 23 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 6 | Haskeui .. .. .. | 4 | .. | 1 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 16 | 62 | 140 | 75 | 163 | 155 | 74 | 7 | .. | 1 | 1 | .. |
| 7 | Tatar-Bazardjik .. .. | 5 | 1 | .. | 4 | 5 | 6 | 14 | 39 | 124 | 50 | 143 | 172 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | .. |
| 8 | Staff .. .. .. | 3 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | .. | 6 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 1 |
| | Total .. .. | 38 | 5 | 5 | 25 | 38 | 49 | 86 | 389 | 808 | 468 | 937 | 1,093 | 230 | 39 | 6 | 25 | 10 | 2 |

## Inclosure 5 in No. 392.

### List of Foreigners serving as Officers in the East Roumelian Gendarmerie.

| Name. | Rank. | Nationality. | How Employed. | Date of Appointment. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Staff— | | | | |
| George Borthwick .. | Colonel .. | English .. | Inspector of Gendarmerie. | February 7, 1879. |
| Nicolas Matrassenko .. | Lieutenant .. | Russian .. | Head of Chancery .. | |
| Michel Tepirski .. | Ditto .. .. | Russian .. | Intendant .. .. .. | |
| Philippopoli Department— | | | | |
| Nicolas Bourmowski .. | Captain .. | Russian .. .. | In command of a Company | |
| Jerome Bauduy .. | Lieutenant .. | French .. .. | | |
| Nicolas Korosteleff .. | Captain .. | Russian .. | Ditto ditto | |
| Theodore Poustovoitoff .. | Lieutenant .. | Russian .. | In command of Squadron. | October 25, 1879. |
| Nicolas Drandreff .. | Sub-Lieutenant | Macedonian .. | Subaltern officer .. .. | July 17, 1879. |
| Alexandre Voïtcheuko .. | Lieutenant .. | Russian .. | Commands foot Gendarmes | July 17, 1879. |
| Hose Vaskevetch .. | Ditto .. .. | Russian .. | Subaltern officer .. .. | June 27, 1879. |
| Tatar-Bazardjik— | | | | |
| Ivan Feodoroff .. .. | Captain .. | Russian .. | Commands Company .. | June 18, 1879. |
| Ivan Sokoloff I .. .. | Lieutenant .. | Bulgarian of the Principality | In command of a Section. | June 27, 1879. |
| Vasili Sokoloff II .. | Ditto .. .. | Russian .. | Ditto ditto | July 6, 1879. |
| Slivno— | | | | |
| George Miscovetch .. | Lieutenant .. | Russian .. | Commands Company .. | March 26, 1879. |
| Etienne Kintcheff .. | Sub-Lieutenant | Bulgarian from Principality | Commands Section Kyil Agatch | |
| Christo Vekeloff .. .. | Ditto .. .. | Ditto .. .. | Commands Yamboli Section | |
| Stara Zagora— | | | | |
| Nicolas Petrowski .. | Lieutenant .. | Russian .. | Commands Company .. | June 27, 1879. |
| Vladimir Telesnitki .. | Ditto .. .. | Russian .. | Commands Section Kezanlik | August 10, 1879. |
| Bourgas— | | | | |
| Yovo Martinovitch .. | Captain .. | Montenegrin .. | Commands Company .. | April 7, 1880. |
| Lucas Pavletchevitch .. | Sub-Lieutenant | Croate .. .. | Commands Section Anchialo | |
| Haskeui— | | | | |
| Antoine Reout .. .. | Lieutenant .. | Russian .. | Commands Company .. | June 27, 1879. |
| Nicolas Michnievitch .. | Ditto .. .. | Russian .. | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Russians .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 14 |
| Bulgarians .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Englishmen .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| Macedonian .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| Montenegrin .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| Croate .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| Frenchman .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| In all .. .. .. .. .. .. | 22 |



## Inclosure 6 in No. 392.

### List of Foreigners serving as Non-commissioned Officers in the East Roumelian Gendarmerie.

| Name. | Rank. | Nationality. | Monthly Pay. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Piastres. |
| Staff— | | | |
| Ossif Tzelnski .. .. .. | Clerk .. .. | Russian .. .. | 400 |
| Ivan Necheff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | Macedonian .. | 350 |
| Philippopoli— | | | |
| Dragutine Novelitch .. .. .. | Sergeant-Major .. | Servian .. .. | 460 |
| Constantin Serbin .. .. .. | Corporal .. .. | Russian .. .. | 345 |
| Feodor Grinkevitch .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 345 |
| Ivan Chopovaloff .. .. .. | Sergeant-Major .. | ,, .. .. | 460 |
| Isac Moisseff .. .. .. | Sergeant .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Samuel Bozikoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Platon Tzigankoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Vassil Tzerkowski .. .. .. | Corporal .. .. | ,, .. .. | 300 |
| Prokor Vikentitch .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 300 |
| Constantin Petroff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 300 |
| Philippopoli district— | | | |
| Procope Moissenko .. .. .. | Sergeant-Major .. | Russian .. .. | 460 |
| Stepan Gregorieff .. .. .. | Sergeant .. .. | ,, .. .. | 410 |
| Serge Artemoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Sidor Bandarenko .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Nicolas Guerasimoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Nikofor Smirnoff .. .. .. | Gendarme .. .. | ,, .. .. | 250 |
| Christo Savoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | Montenegrin .. | 250 |
| Spass Maitinovitch .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 250 |
| Yovko Lazaroff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 250 |
| Tatar-Bazardjik— | | | |
| Danilo Balissoff .. .. .. | Sergeant .. .. | Russian .. .. | 350 |
| Ivan Klopot .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Guerassime Garaneoff .. .. | Gendarme .. .. | ,, .. .. | 250 |
| Slivno— | | | |
| Ivan Martchakoff .. .. .. | Sergeant .. .. | Russian .. .. | 350 |
| Jacov Lemeanoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Basil Yakovleff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 350 |
| Stara Zagora— | | | |
| Yourdan Stoyadoff .. .. .. | Gendarme .. .. | Bulgarian Principality | 250 |
| Nicolai Raytcheff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 250 |
| Milan Tzvielkoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | Servian .. .. | 250 |
| Ivan Gueudoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | Russian .. .. | 250 |
| Auguel Yovkoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | Bulgarian Principality | 250 |
| Haskeui— | | | |
| Ivan Anaprenko .. .. .. | Gendarme .. .. | Russian .. .. | 250 |
| Bourgas— | | | |
| Gregori Akolenko .. .. .. | Sergeant-Major .. | Russian .. .. | 460 |
| Gregori Tetinoff .. .. .. | Corporal .. .. | ,, .. .. | 300 |
| Tchedomi Marcoff .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | Montenegrin .. | 300 |
| Antoine Tatan .. .. .. | Gendarme .. .. | Russian .. .. | 250 |
| Antoine Cavaleni .. .. .. | ,, .. .. | ,, .. .. | 250 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Russians .. .. .. .. .. .. | 28 |
| Bulgarians .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Montenegrins .. .. .. .. .. .. | 4 |
| Servians .. .. .. .. .. .. | 2 |
| Macedonian .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| In all .. .. .. | 38 |

## No. 393.

*Mr. Gould to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21.)

(No. 74.) *Belgrade, September* 5, 1880.

My Lord,

RUSSIAN influence is chiefly exerted in this Principality through the Orthodox clergy, many of whom are educated in Russian seminaries. The Metropolitan of Servia, who is looked upon as the head of the Russian party in the country, and who receives yearly considerable sums for politico-charitable purposes from unofficial, as well as official Russian sources, is at present engaged on a lengthened pastoral tour. This Prelate very seldom leaves the capital, and consequently his absence at this critical moment gives rise

to many conjectures, and, amongst others, that his journey may prove not to be altogether unconnected with the threatened annexionist movement in Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia, and Macedonia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. F. GOULD.

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No. 394.

*Mr. Gould to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 81.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, September 15, 1880.*

WITH respect to the correspondence on the subject of the Bulgarian unionist movement, transmitted to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 53 of the 9th instant, I beg to add that the Servian Government have received official reports from their Agents confirming the accuracy of Mr. Stephen's information, relative to the transfer of the field of action of the national Bulgarian party from Eastern Roumelia to Macedonia, where everything is being prepared for the outbreak of an insurrection against the Sultan the moment a favourable opportunity presents itself, the union of Eastern Roumelia to Bulgaria being already considered as fully assured.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. F. GOULD.

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No. 395.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 355.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 14, 1880.*

WITH reference to the Ministerial changes of which I have informed your Lordship by telegraph, I have the honour to report to your Lordship the following appointments:—

Said Pasha resumes the functions of Prime Minister in the place of Kadri Pasha; Assim Pasha succeeds Abédine Pasha as Minister for Foreign Affairs; Kiamil Pasha is appointed Minister of Public Instruction, in lieu of Munif Effendi; while Server Pasha replaces Aarifi Pasha as President of the Council of State; Raif Effendi takes the place of Bedros Effendi as Minister of Commerce; and Nazif Effendi succeeds Kiamil Pasha as Minister of Efcaf (Pious Foundations). Mahmoud Nedim, Hussein Pasha, and Rassim Pasha respectively retain their offices of Minister of the Interior, Minister of War, and Minister of Marine.

Many versions have been current as to the causes of the change of Ministry, some of which I have reported to your Lordship by telegraph; but it may be regarded as certain that the cause of the removal of Kadri Pasha and Abédine Pasha from their posts has been their refusal to sign a protest against the Naval Demonstration and other proceedings of the Signatory Powers, the language of which protest they considered to be so violent as to be inadmissible and dangerous. Kadri Pasha is said to have behaved exceedingly well, and to have shown much courage. It is certain that he resigned; but the Sultan, in the Imperial Hatt announcing the choice of his successor, speaks of his dismissal. The document in question, which is said to have been drawn up by Musurus Pasha, though the assertion seems almost incredible, was discussed during two whole nights by the Council of Ministers.

Said Pasha was present at the Council. Aarifi Pasha, ex-President of the Council of State, and Munif Pasha, ex-Minister of Public Instruction, are also reported to have been amongst those who refused to sign.

At first sight the change of Ministry conveys the impression that such of the Ministers as took the more conciliatory side in the late discussion having been removed, and a Prime Minister, of the antecedents and reputation of Said Pasha, having been nominated, a policy of defiance towards Europe might be expected, but it is by no means certain that this will be the case. I have heard, for instance, from several quarters, that the document which caused the breaking up of the Ministry will not be persevered with. It may be asked, then, what is the real motive of the change? I was myself convinced at first that the appointment of Said Pasha, the evil genius of His Majesty, must be regarded as an intentional intimation to Europe that resistance on the part of Turkey to the wishes



of Europe would be maintained to the last; but I am now much more inclined to believe that the Sultan has got rid of his late Ministers, and put Said Pasha at the head of affairs, simply because His Majesty has undiminished confidence in the new Minister as more devoted to his person than anyone else, and more capable of extricating him from his difficulties. His Majesty was ready to risk the bad impression which the new appointment would create rather than to lose the comfort of having Said Pasha once more officially at his side. It is admitted almost on all hands that Said Pasha exercises a kind of fascination over His Majesty. He is a pronounced foe of Mahmoud Nedim, who, however, remains in the Cabinet. I understand that his Highness Said Pasha has, during the last few days, intimated to an Englishman high in the service of the Porte, as well as to others, that it was a mistake to consider him as hostile to England. His Majesty made the same statement to me personally, on my indicating plainly the view I took of the new Premier's sentiments, but there can be no doubt that the impression of Said Pasha's hostile attitude towards the European Powers, and England in particular, is very widely spread.

It is possible that the settlement of the Montenegrin question will not be rendered impossible by the late change of Government. Indeed, the new Ministry may try to prove their superior capacity by settling it. But, as regards reforms, and, indeed, as regards the general settlement of questions raised between foreign Governments and the Porte, Said Pasha's previous conduct points to the probability of greatly increased difficulty. The state of affairs which reigned at the Porte when Said Pasha was Prime Minister before, with Sawas Pasha as Foreign Minister, cannot easily be forgotten.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 396.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21).*

(No. 356. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 14, 1880.*

I HAVE had the honour to explain to your Lordship, in my despatch No. 355, the reasons which have led to the recent changes in the Turkish Ministry, and to the appointment of Said Pasha as Prime Minister. Your Lordship may be interested by some additional details as to the other new Ministers. Assim Pasha, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, was President of the Eastern Roumelian Commission, and has been described to your Lordship by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. He enjoys the reputation of being honest and truthful, but is exceedingly slow and heavy, ignorant of current affairs, and, it is said, to be difficult to convey ideas to him. He expresses the greatest surprise at finding himself in his present position. His appointment can only be explained by the desire of Said Pasha to keep foreign affairs practically in his own hands, and to have a respectable figure-head at the Foreign Office.

Server Pasha is said to be a man of some intelligence and pleasant manners, but to be utterly untruthful. His previous antecedents are known to you.

Reif Effendi, appointed Minister of Commerce, was Governor of Beyrout, and a great friend of Midhat Pasha. He was sent by the latter to Constantinople to represent his interests, but is reported to have denounced him instead of defending his old Chief. He is rewarded by a post in the Ministry.

Nassif Pasha, appointed to the Evkaf, was at one time Governor of Bosnia, and at another time of Cyprus. He bears no good reputation as to integrity. I am unaware of the reasons which have led to his entry into the Ministry.

It cannot be said that any of the above appointments are calculated to inspire confidence.

Jefdid Pasha, the most important of the Ministers who have remained in office, is notoriously corrupt, and was one of those who have shown most in favour of resistance during the last negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 397.

*Consul Sanderson to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 4. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Galatz, September 14, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Stokes, referring to current reports respecting the transport of war material from Russia to Bulgaria.

In my despatches Nos. 2 and 3, Political, dated respectively the 9th and 17th instant, I had the honour to lay before your Lordship such information as I had been able to obtain respecting this matter, and, as far as I can ascertain, there has been no shipment from Reni since that mentioned in my despatch No. 2; a barge was hired by the Russian Government a few days ago for the transport of goods from Ismaïl to Reni, and there was a hint thrown out that there might be work for more than one barge later on; the particular class of goods was not mentioned, but it hardly seems likely that with direct communication by rail between Odessa and Reni viâ Bender such a roundabout method of transport would be adopted as that by sea from Odessa to Ismaïl, Reni, and so forth, unless, indeed, this line of rail happened to be blocked by troops.

The number of Russian troops at Bender has been variously estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000 men; if two corps d'armée were assembled there, as I have been informed is the case, the numbers on paper would be something more than 60,000, and the probable effective strength, judging by the troops that passed through Galatz during the late war, from 45,000 to 46,000 men; this appears to be nearly double the number that has been assembled at Bender hitherto in ordinary years.

As regards the different rumours that have been current of troops being massed in considerable numbers at places on the frontier, such as Leova (on the Pruth between Falciu and Hushi), Reni, and Ismaïl, I have ascertained that there were a few days ago but a very considerable number at Leova, 90 at Reni, and 160 at Ismaïl, but to all these places orders similar to those received at Reni appear to have been issued, namely, that they must be prepared to find quarters when called upon; probably these would be required on the dispersion of the force at Bender. Ungheni (a village on the Pruth nearly opposite Jassy, and the point where the rail between Jassy and Odessa crosses the frontier) has also been mentioned as a point where Russian troops were concentrated; I have no information at present regarding this place, but if more Russian troops than usual were quartered there this would not be surprising in view of the Roumanian camp that is forming at Jassy, where, it is said, that upwards of 20,000 troops will be assembled in October.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

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Inclosure in No. 397.

*Vice-Consul Stokes to Consul Sanderson.*

*Sulina, September 8, 1880.*

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to inform you that it is currently reported here that the Russians are continually transporting war material from Odessa (through the Kilia branch of the Danube for the up river), said material being principally destined for Bulgaria.

There are also two small Russian steamers constantly plying between Odessa, Ismaïl, and Reni, engaged in the same traffic. I am of opinion that the foregoing report is correct.

I have, &c.
(Signed) OCTAVUS STOKES.

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No. 398.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 872. Extender.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 20, 1880.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 465 of yesterday, the substance of which I have communicated to Baron de Courcel, I have the honour to report that he has this morning told me that, owing to the resignation of M. de Freycinet, he does not feel justified in sending any particular instructions to M. Tissot.

But M. de Courcel added that he considered that those instructions which had been sent to his Excellency in the last few days would be sufficient to authorize him to join with the other Representatives in stating to the Porte that, if it loyally carries out the proposal before it, no further concessions will be demanded in favour of Montenegro.

M. de Courcel reminded me that the French Government have never made a point of any one particular line with reference to the frontier to the east of the Lake of Scutari; and he said that they would be content to abide by the *status quo*, if only that would help to bring about an immediate solution of the whole question.

At the same time, he was careful to add that the French Government would not separate themselves from the other Powers with reference to this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 399.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 877.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 20, 1880.*

BARON DE COURCEL showed me this morning a copy of a circular telegram from the Porte to its Representatives abroad, dated the 17th instant, and communicated to him by the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires.

In this telegram, as your Lordship is no doubt aware, the three following questions are put:—

1. Les Puissances abandonneront-elles le projet de faire une démonstration navale et de s'associer à une action militaire en cas de la cession de Dulcigno?
2. Les habitants de la ville cédée ne profiteraient-ils pas des principes du droit naturel et commun en ce qui concerne leur foi, leurs habitations, et leur vie?
3. Le tracé du *statu quo* qui a été antérieurement fixé du côté de Podgoritza pour la remise de Dulcigno ne recevra-t-il pas, comme cela lui est dû, l'adhésion des Puissances?

M. de Courcel said that, in his opinion, the answers which the French Government should give to the above questions would be somewhat to the following effect:—

1. We have always said, let the Porte give up Dulcigno at once, and then, according to our opinion, the Naval Demonstration would become unnecessary; but at the same time, as the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires has already been told, this matter has now passed into the hands of the Admirals.
2. We should refer the Porte to Articles XXVII and XXX of the Treaty of Berlin.
3. The French Government are indifferent as to the particular line of frontier to be drawn to the east of the Lake of Scutari. They do not consider that Matagos and the Forest of Markosman are at all of sufficient importance to contend about, when compared with the advantage of arriving at an immediate solution of the question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 400.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)*

(No. 881.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 20, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed a note to the French Government in the terms of your Lordship's despatch No. 1250 of the

15th instant, communicating to them the substance of Mr. Goschen's despatch No. 308 of the 31st August, and asking that an authorization may be sent to the French Ambassador at Constantinople to discuss with his colleagues the course that should be pursued to prevail upon the Porte to put the new Organic Statute for European Turkey into force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 401.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 9·30 A.M.)

(No. 106.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 20, 1880, 9 A.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 105 of last night, I have to add that Riza Pasha stated he could not proceed to surrender Dulcigno without having in his possession the copies of the Protocol or Convention signed by the Powers and the Porte, clearly defining the territory he is to give up.

The nature of the Admiral's communications to me oblige me, however, to disregard Riza Pasha's further plea for delay, especially as the steps which are being taken must have been telegraphed to your Lordship from Ragusa.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 402.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 9·30 A.M.)

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 20, 1880, 9·5 P.M.

THE Admiral's letters to the Civil Governor of Scutari and for the Commandant of Dulcigno were handed in this morning at half-past 10 to the former functionary. He after some hours returned the second letter, saying he could not receive it as it was addressed to a military authority.

Riza Pasha has now also refused to have charge of the letter, saying that he is the superior of the Commandant in question, and that at present, until orders to hold any official intercourse with the Admiral, he cannot allow any subordinate to do so.

It is evident that the authorities are acting under orders from the Porte, and have no intention of facilitating the action of the Powers.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

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No. 403.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 10·50 A.M.)

(No. 5.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 21, 1880, 8 A.M.

THE Admiral is going to Cettinjé on Thursday next to see the Prince in order to arrange for combined military action.

The three days' notice expires on Wednesday evening.

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No. 404.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 2·45 P.M.)

(No. 238.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880, 1 A.M.

I HAVE seen Foreign Minister, and made communication as instructed in your telegram No. 549.

I also read to him a French translation of your despatch of 22nd July, and left him a copy.

I found a great Council sitting at the Porte, including the late ex-Ministers



Khaireddin Bey, Safvet Pasha, Osman Pasha, and others, convoked to take a final decision. I heard that they were inclining to resistance. I asked to see Prime Minister, who accordingly came out from the Council. I did my utmost to convince him that concession alone could save the existence of Turkey. I showed him the certainty of destruction resulting from further delay, the certainty of the Albanians getting more and more out of hand, and he finally stated his agreement with me that an instantaneous decision must now be taken.

I further understood that the Turkish Government will no longer make the immediate cession of Dulcigno depend on the acceptance of the *status quo* line. Prime Minister pleaded hard for a declaration that, if cession of Dulcigno be made, the naval demonstration should not take place. I stated that I was not in a position to make such a declaration, nor could I advise my Government or the other Powers to accept such an absolute condition. The Albanians might retake Dulcigno, or commence some attack. It was, in my judgment, impossible to tie our hands; but if I was Turkish Minister I should see in the immediate cession of Dulcigno a good chance of avoiding the demonstration. England certainly did not wish to humiliate Turkey; on the contrary, we should prefer to see the Porte once more resuming its authority, and carrying out its engagements without coercion, and effectually using its own influence over its subjects. The Powers, too, would see a sign of good faith in the surrender, for which, in the words of our last note, they would give the Porte credit.

Prime Minister seemed particularly pleased at my declaration that we did not wish to humiliate Turkey, and he professed that my language was such as to satisfy him, and only wished, though he admitted the difficulty of putting it on paper, that some kind of assurances could be given by the Powers tantamount to what I had said. It would be of immense assistance to the Ottoman Government if they could state that the Powers contemplated that, by the peaceable surrender of Dulcigno, the Porte would avoid the demonstration.

With reference to the frontier east of the lake, he thought that he saw the means of an arrangement, but there should be no delay.

Prime Minister followed me to the door, with an entreaty to endeavour to obtain some declaration, but I made no promise.

I have not yet heard the result of the Council.

Probably some of the other Powers will make no difficulty about a declaration, but I have indicated above the risk of tying our hands by an absolute promise.

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No. 405.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 12·5 P.M.)

(No. 239.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880, 1·10 A.M.

AT my interview with Prime Minister to-day I did not fail to use very strong language as to Circular telegram. So strange a diplomatic document had seldom been seen in Europe. His Highness replied mysteriously, and expressed his wish to defer explanations on it till our next interview. He apparently wished to repudiate the document, but did not dare to say so. I insisted it was impossible not to regard it as a manifesto of the new Ministry, but he strongly deprecated this inference, and begged me to defer discussing it. I replied I would suspend the discussion, but the European Cabinets could not suspend the effect it had had on their minds. It was impossible to expect them to be conciliatory in the face of such a document.

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No. 406.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 12·30 P.M.)

(No. 240.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880, 1·20 A.M.

IN explanation of my telegram No. 238, see the first condition in the Circular telegram of the Porte with reference to naval demonstration, and the third condition with reference to adhesion to be given to *status quo* line; the latter condition I understand the Prime Minister to abandon, and, as to the former, to be ready to accept a conditional declaration instead of an absolute promise. But the Council may possibly decide

otherwise, and the further question remains whether the Porte would now have the power to deliver Dulcigno peaceably. The Prime Minister said he would not object to using armed coercive measures if only he was sure to avoid the demonstration.

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No. 407.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 2·50 P.M.)

(No. 241.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880.

FRENCH Ambassador has just called to inform me of following facts:—

He dined with Sultan last night. His Majesty did not say one word about politics the whole evening, but, when the Ambassador was getting into his carriage, the Sultan's French Aide-de-camp fetched him back and told him that he was charged by Sultan to make a communication to him to the effect that his Ministers were playing him false, that they would do nothing to avoid the naval demonstration, which was a fatal blow at His Majesty's authority. The Aide-de-camp added that the Sultan had been so angry he had almost drawn a pistol on the Prime Minister. He then stated to the Ambassador that the Sultan would only surrender Dulcigno on four conditions, viz.:

1st. The abandonment of any naval demonstration, not only for Dulcigno and the Montenegrin questions, but for the Greek and Armenian questions as well.

2nd. The acceptance of the *status quo* frontier.

3rd. Protection of Mussulman property as asked in the Circular.

4th. Declaration that no more concessions in favour of Montenegro should be demanded.

If these conditions were refused Dulcigno could not be given up, and he would sooner die.

French Ambassador stated that the pledge of the abandonment of the naval demonstration in the form now demanded was impossible, and then left. At one o'clock at night the same Aide-de-camp appeared at the French Embassy at Therapia, by order of the Sultan, to urge the point again, and stated that he was ordered to go on to the German and Austrian Ambassadors. I shall hear from them soon.

I should almost think His Majesty is a little off his head.

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No. 408.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21.)

(No. 242.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880.

WITH reference to my telegrams No. 238 and No. 241, your Lordship will observe that though there is the widest discrepancy between the statements and demands of the Sultan and the Prime Minister respectively, the cardinal point with both is to obtain assurances with regard to no naval demonstration taking place. The Prime Minister probably thinks that the only plan to manage the Sultan would be to procure some kind of a document to this effect, and that the only chance to succeed in doing so is to ask a minimum. The Sultan meanwhile is aiming at obtaining the declaration in a wild and excited way.

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No. 409.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 4 P.M.)

(No. 243.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880, 12·30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 241, the French Ambassador told me further that the Sultan had shown an unnatural and quite unusual gaiety last night. It is curious that when he accepted the resignation of his late Ministers he informed French Ambassador that he dismissed them because they would not yield, whereas the very contrary was the fact.

I regret to state that it must be considered impossible to distinguish how much is true and how much false in the communications made to the French Ambassador.

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No. 410.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 2·13 P.M.)

(No. 244.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 21, 1880, 11·30 A.M.

WITH reference to events at Dulcigno, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me yesterday that the Porte had no information as to summons, and I learnt nothing from him as to what Riza Pasha's instructions were.

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No. 411.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 109.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880, 3 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 104, you may state to the Montenegrin Government that the line laid down in the Austrian proposal is considered by Her Majesty's Government as final, and that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been so informed.

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No. 412.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 110.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880, 3·45 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 101, I approve your language to the bearer of the communication from the inhabitants of Dulcigno.

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No. 413.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 111.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880, 4·25 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 102, Her Majesty's Government have full confidence in the accuracy of your reports.

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No. 414.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 559.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880, 4·15 P.M.

WITH reference to Mr. Stephen's telegram No. 88, I should wish the step which he took with a view of dissuading Aleko Pasha from resigning to be approved.

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No. 415.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 563.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880, 7·50 P.M.

WE entirely concur in all you have done, and share your objections to any delay. But we do not wish to take away all discretion from you and the other Ambassadors in communicating any request to the Admiral as to movements of the fleet.

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No. 416.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 5·15 P.M.)

(No. 99.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 21, 1880, 3·55 P.M.

FRENCH Government have telegraphed Consul at Scutari to leave if his colleagues do, and if he thinks his personal safety would be endangered by remaining.

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No. 417.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 8·20 P.M.)

(No. 173.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 21, 1880, 7·10 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 648.

Russian Government adhere to English proposal that an arrangement, confirmed by a Protocol, should be made between Turkey and Montenegro.

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No. 418.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 21, 9·10 P.M.)

(No. 174.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 21, 1880, 7·10 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 666.

Russian Government adhere to English proposal with regard to making declaration at Constantinople respecting immediate action of fleet, as well as to conditional assurance to be given to the Porte that no further concession to Montenegro will be required.

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No. 419.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 115. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 104 of the 17th instant, stating that the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs had informed you that the Prince of Montenegro would at once consent that the Representatives at Constantinople should have the necessary authority to settle the terms of agreement respecting the Montenegrin frontier question with the Porte, and to sign a Protocol confirming it, provided that the arrangement to be signed is not to include any further new modification of the frontier than the one proposed by the Austrian Government about Dinosi.

I have now to instruct you to inform the Montenegrin Government, in reply to their representation on this subject, that Her Majesty's Government consider the line laid down in the Austrian proposal as final, and that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been so informed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 420.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 116. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 101 of the 16th instant, informing me that each of the Consuls of the Great Powers at Scutari had received a document, addressed to their respective Governments, from the inhabitants of Dulcigno, strongly protesting against the cession of that town to Montenegro, and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language you held to the bearer of this communication as reported in your telegram.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 421.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 117. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1880.

I RECEIVED your telegram No. 102 of the 17th instant, protesting against the language used by Count Maffei, the Italian Under-Secretary of State, to Mr. Macdonell as regards the character of the Reports which you had furnished to me respecting the alleged intrigues of the Italian Agents at Scutari and elsewhere, and, in reply, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have full confidence in the accuracy of your Reports.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 422.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 22.)

(No. 290. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, September* 7, 1880.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 90 of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith the copy of the declaration of the Montenegrin Government, in reply to my representations on the subject, that its preparations to take possession of the district of Dulcigno, either peaceably or by force, will be completed by the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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Inclosure in No. 422.

*M. Radonich to Mr. Kirby Green.*

*Cettinjé, le* 23 Août / 4 Septembre, 1880.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

JE me suis empressé de porter à la connaissance de son Altesse le contenu de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser en date d'hier, et voici la réponse que je suis chargé de vous faire: à la suite de l'invitation que vous nous faites au nom de votre Gouvernement de nous mettre au plutôt en mesure de prendre possession du district de Dulcigno pacifiquement et au besoin par la force, j'ai ordre de Son Altesse de vous déclarer que le 15 de ce mois de Septembre (n.s.), le Monténégro sera prêt pour toutes les deux éventualités.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) V. S. RADONICH.

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No. 423.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 22.)

(No. 293. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, September* 7, 1880.

YESTERDAY everything was calm here and presaged a speedy settlement of pending difficulties. It was the first day of the Feast of Baïram after the Ramadan month of fasting, and people were congratulating themselves that one and the other of the solemn periods of Mahommedan observance were about to conclude without any act expressing submission to Christian power having been required of them. What might happen later appeared almost to be a matter of indifference.

But this calm has tempted Riza Pasha into acting with precipitancy and imprudence.

I understand that yesterday he availed himself of the excuse offered by the opening Baïram to distribute presents of money to all the Mahommedan clergy and to some of the native Notables who have made themselves conspicuous by their patriotic attitude, and that, believing he had thus gained their support, he wished to realize at once the effects of his liberality.

The dispatch, however, this morning of three battalions of infantry and a battery of mountain artillery with considerable military display in the direction of Dulcigno has thrown the Mussulman Scutarines into the greatest agitation. Their pride and vanity has been put to too severe a test by Riza Pasha, as they could not hide their mortification by keeping to themselves at their usual avocations at a time when they are obliged to visit each other and congregate together.

At several turbulent meetings held to-day in the mosques it has been resolved to continue to the last the opposition to all cessions of Albanian territory, and about 300 of the leading townspeople have left this afternoon for the threatened district. I am told no opposition whatever has been offered to their passage through the lines of the troops which the Pasha sent out this morning with so much ostentation.

The explanation given to me of Riza Pasha's object in commencing his preparations for the surrender of Dulcigno on the second day of the Feast of Bairam is that he wished, should the Albanians, contrary to his hopes, be displeased with his action, to avoid the possibility of a great public commotion through the closing of the bazaar on a working day, but, unfortunately, he forgot that people are much more disposed for mischief when idle than when busily employed.

Whilst the measures adopted by Riza Pasha point apparently to an intention to effect the surrender of Dulcigno, the language held to me this afternoon by Bedri Bey, the Turkish Delegate of the Albano-Montenegrin Boundary Commission, obliges me to view them with considerable distrust. By his explanations he has deprived these measures of almost all value, asserting that no compulsion will be employed by the Turkish troops against the Albanians, and that, if good advice fails to induce them to submit, the European Powers will be left to decide whether or no they will spill the blood of people whose only fault is a determination to die in the defence of their native soil, which it is wished to hand over to a country which can hardly be said yet to possess a Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 424.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 22.*)

(No. 295. Political.)
*Scutari, September 7, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 90 of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, an extract of the letter received by me from Voïvoda Radonich, stating that the Montenegrin forces will be ready to take possession of Dulcigno peaceably, or if necessary by force, on the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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Inclosure in No. 424.

*M. Radonich to Mr. Kirby Green.*

*Cettinjé, le* $\frac{27 \text{ août}}{6 \text{ September}}$ 1880.

(Extrait.)

VOUS avez reçu ma communication d'hier par laquelle le Monténégro prend la résolution d'agir en cas de besoin, mais du moment que les choses en sont arrivées à ce point, vous comprendrez bien qu'il est de notre intérêt, ainsi que peut-être de l'intérêt de tout le monde, de terminer cette partie de la question un moment plus tôt. En nous mettant en mesure d'agir dans le district de Dulcigno nous sommes obligés de nous garantir aussi contre toutes les éventualités sur tout le reste de notre frontière, depuis le Lac jusqu'à Mokra, en renforçant Podgoritza, et sur toutes les autres points de cette ligne. L'ensemble de ce déploiement de nos forces nous occasionne des dépenses considérables qu'il sera très-lourd au Monténégro à supporter au delà d'un laps de temps raisonnable. Nos forces seront prêtes pour le 15 de ce mois, et il eût été désirable que les Cabinets puissent aussi mettre pour ce jour les flottes réunies en mesure de pouvoir, le cas échéant, coöpérer avec nous, afin d'abréger autant que possible le temps pendant lequel toutes nos forces seront obligés de se tenir sur le pied de guerre, ou sur le qui-vive.



Ne pourriez-vous pas communiquer à Lord Granville ces réflexions et ce désir de notre part?

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No. 425.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 22.*)

(No. 298. Political.)
*Scutari, September 8, 1880.*

My Lord,

THE whole proceedings of the Turkish military and civil authorities is so lamentably weak that I am hardly justified in contemplating the possibility of a quiet execution of the Dulcigno arrangement.

Riza Pasha, finding that the Albanian leaders will not meet him in his house, goes in search of them in their own places of public assembly, and there wastes his time and discredits the influence of his Government by endeavouring to persuade them by simple advice to accept what they have been warned for months past to be prepared and firm to refuse. He listens to their seditious talk, and then leaves them with the promise that he will seek them again in the hope of finding them in a more yielding frame of mind. Perhaps, if at the same time the Pasha's staff and his friends endeavoured by their language to impress the public with the belief that the time will come when the Sultan's Government will order the employment of force to secure obedience from the Albanians, a peaceful surrender of Dulcigno might be looked for; but as the contrary is the case, I cannot but fear that the decision has already been taken by the Porte, should it fail to sow discord among the Powers, to meet whatever coercive measures they may be prepared to adopt for putting Montenegro in possession of the Dulcigno district by covert assistance of the Albanians.

Under these circumstances, I think it would be well, when all hope of a peaceful solution disappears, for sufficient time to be afforded me, before the naval demonstration commences, to withdraw my family from Scutari, as whilst I am away in Montenegro or with Admiral Seymour I should wish to have no private anxieties on my mind as to those I may have left alone and unprotected among so wild and lawless a people as the North Albanians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 426.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 22.*)

(No. 300. Political.)
*Scutari, September 9, 1880.*

My Lord,

WHEN the Turkish military authorities commenced on the 7th instant the movement of troops towards the new frontier of the Dulcigno district, I thought it proper, lest there should be a *bond fide* intention on their part to surrender it immediately, to renew my representations with the Montenegrin Government that it should complete, as speedily as possible, its preparations for entering into possession of the new territories.

I urged that the Montenegrin authorities should be ready to respond to the first invitation of the Turks to advance, and this expression has called forth from the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs the explanation, that the Prince is obliged to decline all direct communications with the Ottoman commanders until the Powers have fully arranged with the Porte the precise manner in which the peaceable surrender must be carried out.

As I presume this will be the course followed, I have not thought it necessary to do otherwise than to continue my urgent advice that the Montenegrins should not give rise to any delay the moment the Turks resolve to comply with the wishes of the Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 427.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 22.*)

(No. 302. Political. Confidential.)

*Scutari, September 9, 1880.*

My Lord,

ALTHOUGH I am generally much disinclined to pay any attention to rumours of intrigues on the part of this or that foreign country in North Albania, still I feel bound to report to your Lordship that, after careful examination, I have not been quite able to convince myself that the feeling which exists among Mussulman natives that they can count on the support of Italy in their present resistance against the surrender of Dulcigno is not based on something more than mere ignorance and vague hopes.

By my private friends among the Scutari Committee I am assured that they have heard nothing of this Italian support, but from all others, and especially from Mussulmans, I learn that the opposition which has arisen within the last few days owes its principal strength to assurances and promises which have been gathered that the naval demonstration will resolve itself into a harmless naval evolution, and that the European concert will not go beyond repeating Riza Pasha's good advice.

I have, however, not been able to ascertain whence these assurances have proceeded, but I know Riza Pasha has talked much of them, and said that they have thwarted his action, and he has upbraided the Mussulmans with abandoning their allegiance to the Sultan, and putting their trust in a foreign Power.

Signor Zerboni, the Italian Consul, has also, doubtless by the mistaken zeal of the persons around him, given colour to the rumours of his warm sympathy for the present resistance of the Albanians, but personally, if I could forget the conduct of one or two Italian Agents in these regions, I should be inclined to lean to the belief that this secret Italian interference is an invention of the Turks, brought forward with the hope that it will create dissensions among certain of the Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 428.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 22.*)

(No. 304. Political.)

*Scutari, September 12, 1880.*

My Lord,

NOTWITHSTANDING my personal belief that the Turkish authorities here have proved themselves utterly wanting in capacity and energy in preparing the way for the peaceable surrender of Dulcigno, I must not hide from your Lordship that the general impression among people in Scutari is that Riza Pasha is really anxious to carry out the arrangement of the Powers.

It must not, however, be forgotten that this arrangement is based on the fact that the Dulcigno district is a piece of territory completely under the control of the Turkish Government, and that it is not more capable of resisting by itself than would be any other subjugated part of the Ottoman Empire.

Both Gusinjé-Plava and Hotti-Gruda would have first had to be conquered by the Sultan's troops before they could have been surrendered to Montenegro; but the Dulcigniotes have declared repeatedly that they would not, and could not, resist unless supported by a strong force from outside; and it is for not preventing such a force from introducing itself into the district that I consider the Turkish authorities most seriously to blame.

The simple guarding of the two bridges in Scutari would have been sufficient to prevent any volunteers from passing into the isolated district of Dulcigno, and no resistance can be offered even now to the Montenegrin advance if Scutari is not permitted to be the base of operations of the Albanians.

With a force of thirteen battalions of Anatolians in perfect order under his command, Riza Pasha ought never to have been allowed to allege that he has been overcome by a popular movement, which, up till now, has not been able to forward to Dulcigno more than 800 or 900 volunteers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 429*.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 22.*)

(No. 888.)

*Paris, September 21, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 877 of yesterday, Baron de Courcel asked me to-day whether Her Majesty's Government had sent any instructions to Mr. Goschen with reference to the Circular telegram from the Porte of the 17th instant.

I answered that I was aware that Mr. Goschen had inquired what language he should hold with reference to this Circular, but that I did not yet know whether your Lordship had given any answer on the subject.

M. de Courcel said he should be glad to be informed of the tenor of any instructions which Her Majesty's Government might send to Mr. Goschen with reference to the Circular.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 429.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 22.)

(No. 887. Extender.)

My Lord, *Paris, September* 21, 1880.

BARON DE COURCEL told me to-day that, as I had informed him that Mr. Green had received permission to leave Scutari when he thought it desirable, the French Consul there had been instructed by telegraph to leave the place if his colleagues did so, and if he considered that his personal safety would be endangered by remaining there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 430.

*Memorandum communicated to Earl Granville by M. Hengelmüller, September* 22.

THE Turkish Ambassador at Vienna has communicated to the Imperial and Royal Government a despatch of the Porte, containing the following questions:—

1. Whether, in view of the agitation prevailing among the Mahommedan population in the Dulcigno district, the Powers were disposed to desist themselves from the naval demonstration after the surrender of Dulcigno?

2. Whether they would guarantee the free exercise of religion, as well as the rights of property of the Mahommedans in Dulcigno?

3. Whether, after the surrender of Dulcigno, the line of the *status quo* previously agreed upon would be maintained as demarcation line eastwards from the Lake of Scutari?

To which the Imperial and Royal Government have answered:—

With regard to the second question, that the Powers were willing, indeed, to protect the free exercise of religion and the property rights, not only of the Mahommedans, but also of the Catholics, in the territories to be ceded to Montenegro, and that the Ambassadors at Constantinople had already agreed upon a formula on this subject.

As to the naval demonstration, we could only tell the Ambassador that, on the day he was making his communication, the Commander-in-chief of the united fleet was to send to Riza Pasha the summons to effect the surrender of Dulcigno, and that, in case it should remain without effect, the action of the Powers would begin within three days.

We further told Edhem Pasha that more than one month will have elapsed from the day of the expiration of the delay fixed in the collective note of the 3rd August, viz., from the 24th August up to the beginning of the action, a period longer even than that claimed by the Porte herself; that the Porte had not seriously availed herself of this delay, but had, on the contrary, continually brought up new dilatory proposals, and that, in consequence, she alone had to bear the responsibility for the consequences resulting from the non-execution of the surrender.

Concerning the demarcation line eastwards from the Lake of Scutari, the Imperial and Royal Government have answered that they were not aware of any line "previously agreed upon" with regard to the *status quo*. They know of no other line than that described in the last collective note addressed on this subject to the Porte, and they must insist upon its execution.

*Belgrave Square, September* 22, 1880.

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No. 431.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.*—(*Received September* 22.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, September* 21, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 21st September, 1880.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 431.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 21, 1880, 4 P.M.

MY Flag Captain reports that he delivered summons to Pasha at Scutari on Monday morning. Answer due on Thursday morning.

Foreign Consuls decline to quit Scutari without the permission of their Governments. Constantinople informed.

I shall probably go in the "Helicon" to Cattaro, St. Laurence, thence to Cettinjé, to see the Prince of Montenegro, if the letter from Riza Pasha is not decided as to surrender of Dulcigno without delay.

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No. 432.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.—(Received at the Foreign Office, September* 22.)

(Confidential.)

Sir, *"Alexandra," at Gravosa, September* 18, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of despatches which I have written, subsequent to the Conference of the Representatives of the Powers assembled at Gravosa, reported in my letter of the 16th instant.

2. Copies of Inclosures 1, 2, 3, and 4 have been sent by me to the Representatives of all the Powers present at Gravosa.

3. Yesterday I dispatched Lord Walter Kerr and Lieutenant Vincent Caillard, R.E., in the "Helicon," to Cattaro, with orders to proceed from thence overland to Scutari. On arrival at that place, Lord Walter Kerr has instructions to communicate with Mr. Kirby Green, Her Majesty's Consul-General, and after having shown him the summonses which I have addressed to his Excellency Riza Pasha and to the Commandant of Dulcigno, to deliver up that town and district to the Prince of Montenegro, Lord Walter was to deliver the same personally to the Governor-General of Scutari, delaying its presentation twenty-four hours should Her Majesty's Consul-General request him to do so.

4. This step on my part met with the entire and hearty approval of my colleagues.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 432.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to Mr. Kirby Green.*

Sir, *"Alexandra," at Gravosa, September* 16, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that at a Conference of the Representatives of the Allied Powers, held this day on board my flag-ship, it was decided to call upon you, and on the Consuls resident in the districts of Scutari and Dulcigno, &c., to remove their families with the least possible delay to a place of safety; and in compliance therewith I request that you will lose no time in giving the required notice to the Consuls so resident, and to act upon it yourself.

I shall inform the Pasha of Scutari that I hold him responsible for the safety of the Consuls' families until they are embarked.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 432.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to Riza Pasha.*

Excellence, *"L'Alexandra," à Gravosa, le* 17 *Septembre,* 1880.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que, comme Amiral-en-chef des flottes combinées réunies à Raguse, j'ai demandé à MM. les Consuls qui se trouvent à Scutari de retirer leurs familles immédiatement à un lieu de sûreté.



J'ai fait cette demande parce qu'il est possible que des opérations militaires pourraient devenir nécessaires pour aider les Monténégrins à prendre possession du district de Dulcigno. Je dois vous prier de faciliter la transportation des familles de MM. les Consuls, et de prendre des mesures pour leur protection tellement efficaces qu'elles obvieraient à la possibilité d'aucun malheur.

En outre, je dois déclarer que, comme officier commandant les troupes de Sa Majesté le Sultan dans le district de Scutari, on vous tiendra responsable pour la due protection des familles de MM. les Consuls (aussi bien à Scutari qu'en route), et de MM. les Consuls eux-mêmes, dans le cas où il arriverait quelque désordre que ce soit à Scutari, comme suite des mesures militaires qu'on pourrait trouver nécessaires à prendre dans le district de Dulcigno.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 432.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to Riza Pasha.*

Excellence, *"L'Alexandra," à Gravosa, le* 17 *Septembre,* 1880.

AGISSANT sous les ordres de mon Gouvernement comme Amiral-en-chef des vaisseaux de guerre rassemblés de l'Allemagne, d'Autriche, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie, se trouvant à présent à l'ancre dans le port de Gravosa; dans le nom, et avec le plein consentement des officiers commandant les navires des Six Puissances susdites, je vous invite par ces présentes à remettre aux autorités Monténégrines sans plus de délai, la ville et le district de Dulcigno.

Conformément à mes instructions, j'attendrai votre réponse pendant un terme de trois jours, commençant de la date où on vous présentera cette communication, avant de commencer aucune action militaire.

Les officiers qui vous apportent cette communication ou, si vous le préférez, Mr. Kirby Green, Consul-Général Britannique à Scutari, pourront me communiquer votre réponse, afin que je puisse entrer dans des relations avec le Prince de Monténégro, et prendre les dispositions pour qu'il puisse prendre possession des territoires cédés.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 432.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Commandant of the Town of Dulcigno.*

*Gravosa, September* 17, 1880.

AS Admiral commanding the ships of war assembled at Gravosa, I hereby summon you to deliver over the town and district of Dulcigno to the Montenegrin Prince without further delay.

I shall await your answer for a term of three days from the receipt by you of this communication before taking any such military action as your answer may entail.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 432.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to Mr. Kirby Green.*

Sir, *"Alexandra," at Gravosa, September* 17, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that I have decided on dispatching Captain Lord Walter Kerr, my Flag Captain, to Cattaro, in Her Majesty's ship "Helicon," to-day, with duplicates of the despatches which I addressed to you and to the Pasha of Scutari yesterday.

From Cattaro, Lord Walter Kerr will proceed to Scutari by land, and on his arrival he will show you the summons which, with the unanimous consent of the Senior Officers of the Allied Powers now present at Gravosa, I have addressed to the Pasha of

Scutari and to the Kaïmakam of Dulcigno, in accordance with the instructions under which I am acting.

Captain Lord Walter Kerr has been directed, after having delivered the summonses to the Pasha of Scutari, to wait three days (from the date of their delivery to the Pasha), for an answer to the letters with which he is charged. At the expiration of that period he will return to Cattaro, where the "Helicon" will await him.

I have to request that you will give him every assistance in your power.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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No. 433.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22.)*

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 21, 1880.*

RIZA PASHA, in returning this morning the visit of Lord W. Kerr and Mr. Caillard, stated that he had already communicated to the Governor-General of Scutari the reply which is to be given to the Admiral's letter delivered yesterday. He added that the only impediment now preventing the surrender of Dulcigno is the absence of an order to do so from Porte, and that if time is accorded he has every reason to believe that he will receive the order; but should the Montenegrins or anybody else endeavour to take possession of the slightest portion of Turkish territory, which he still considers Dulcigno to be, before the issue of such order, he would, as Ottoman Commander, oppose this with his troops.

When Riza Pasha received this afternoon the Admiral's letter holding him responsible for the safety of the Consuls, he said that his reply in writing would be that he would answer for everything so long as the fleet remained at Ragusa.

Riza Pasha has now accepted the summons to the Commandant of Dulcigno, which he had refused yesterday, on the understanding that he should answer it.

Riza Pasha asked me privately to urge the hastening of the dispatch of the necessary order for the surrender, which he says is now being arranged between the Porte and the Ambassadors, and which he affirms he can at once effect on receipt of order.

(Sent to Constantinople and Ragusa.)

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No. 434.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 11·35 A.M.)*

(No. 108.)
(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September 21, 1880, 7 P.M.*

LEAVE Scutari to-morrow at dawn, sending my family to Corfu.

(Repeated Therapia.)

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No. 435.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 6 A.M.)*

(No. 245. Very Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 21, 1880, 11·50 P.M.*

WITH reference to last phrase of my telegram No. 241 about state of Sultan's mind, my colleagues will not see any signs of what I mentioned. All accounts, however, agree that he has become quite impracticable, and, looking to former despatches of my predecessor, and the extraordinary steps taken and language used at present, I think it is necessary to take the possibility of a certain amount of eccentricity and mental excitement into account.

It will be advisable to keep this view absolutely secret, even from the other Cabinets.

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No. 436.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 6 A.M.)*

(No. 246.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 21, 1880.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 241, Sultan's Aide-de-camp made identic communications to the Austrian and German Ambassadors, in middle of the night, as to the French Ambassador. Sultan has sent for German Ambassador this afternoon.

The Council, mentioned in my telegram No. 238, sat on till nearly midnight, and most of the Ministers were sent for to the Palace early this morning.

The actual result of the Council has not transpired, but the Sultan's views will, I presume, overrule those stated to me yesterday by Said Pasha. Whatever the Ministers may wish, they will probably accept the Sultan's views.

The French Ambassador had the purport of the conditions communicated to him before the Council was over.

We are all convinced that every effort must be made to avoid two sets of communications, one by the Sultan and one by the Ministers, but it is not easy to avoid this.

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No. 437.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 2 P.M.)*

(No. 247.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 22, 1880, 11·50 A.M.*

SELF-DENYING Protocol signed yesterday. Russian Ambassador had no instructions authorizing him to communicate it to the Porte. Other Ambassadors considered that the moment was not particularly propitious for making the communication, and that it would be better to wait an opportunity when it might be more useful.

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No. 438.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 22, 1880.*

THE Admiral expects to arrange with the Prince of Montenegro [to-morrow] for concerted military action in the event of Riza Pasha's answer to the summons proving unfavourable.

In this case, twenty-four hours' notice will be given on Saturday next to the Commandant of Dulcigno to remove women and children, and such ships of the combined fleet as may be detailed for that purpose will steam down the coast on Sunday, weather permitting, passing Antivari, and remaining off Dulcigno.

Arrangements will be made with the Prince to be ready to advance and occupy by force Dulcigno position as the fleet passes along the coast. This is contingent on the co-operation of the Montenegrins, of which, however, the most distinct assurance has been given, and is also dependent on the state of the weather, an element of uncertainty which cannot be disregarded, and which renders prolonged exposure of the fleet at Dulcigno very inexpedient.

I shall probably send next telegram to your Lordship from Cettinjé.

(Repeated to Mr. Goschen.)

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No. 439.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 480. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 22, 1880, 1·40 P.M.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 877, we trust that the French Government will not reply to the Porte in the sense of No. 3, expressing indifference as to frontier east of Lake Scutari, and thus establishing a shade of difference with other Powers.

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No. 440.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.**

(No. 692.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 22, 1880, 6·18 P.M.*

FOLLOWING received from Admiral Seymour, dated Ragusa, 21st September:—

"My Flag-Captain reports that he delivered summons to Pasha at Scutari on Monday morning. Answer due Thursday morning. Foreign Consuls decline to quit Scutari without permission of their Governments. Shall probably go in 'Helicon' to Cattaro. St. Lawrence thence to Cettinjé to see Prince of Montenegro if the letter from Riza Pasha is not decided as to surrender of Dulcigno without delay."

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No. 441.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 7·35 P.M.)*

(No. 153.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 22, 1880, 6·5 P.M.*

M. DE KÁLLAY believes that the Sultan and Prime Minister, in stating the terms upon which Dulcigno would be given up, are merely endeavouring to gain time, so as to make it too late for the naval demonstration, and he does not think much attention should be paid to them.

This is only his own opinion, as Baron Haymerle is still at Pesth.

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No. 442.

*Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 9·20 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Crete, September 22, 1880, 7·30 P.M.*

THE man accused of murder of late Mr. Anderson and his clerk has been condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment.

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No. 443.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 11·50 P.M.)*

(No. 132. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 22, 1880, 10·30 P.M.*

AT Count Maffei's request, I called on him this afternoon. He said he had no recent news from Montenegro. I read to him a résumé of your Lordship's last telegrams. In doing so I ventured to observe that the critical moment appeared at hand, and that I begged him to relieve my mind of all doubt of the attitude of Italy under the circumstances which the possible resistance of the Turks give rise to.

I gathered from his reply that the Government had anticipated this question, and that it was decided at the last Council that, whatever may now occur, Italy must now observe the most scrupulous accord with England. He said that your Lordship may rely on their action, and that every gun fired by the English Admiral will be seconded by the Italian.

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No. 444.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 22, 11·19 P.M.)*

(No. 133.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 22, 1880, 9·30 P.M.*

COUNT MAFFEI stated to-day that the Italian Consul was of opinion that he would incur no danger in remaining at Dulcigno [?]. I urged Count Maffei to instruct him to leave with the other Agents.

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* Also to Mr. Adams (No. 485), Mr. Macdonell (No. 617), Sir H. Elliot (No. 631), and Lord Odo Russell (No. 574).



No. 445.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.*

(No. 480.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 22, 1880.*

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me on the 20th instant to converse upon the position of the Montenegrin frontier negotiations.

After discussing this question, I told his Excellency that I wished to speak to him on a matter of considerable importance. I said that the accounts which we received, not only from the Porte and from other Governments, but from our own Agents in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, as to the importation of arms and the influx of Russian non-commissioned officers and soldiers, were at variance with the information I had received from him.

Prince Lobanoff assured me that he had communicated to me all the intelligence he had received.

I said that I did not doubt this, and that I was not so much desirous of discussing the details as of impressing upon him the unfavourable effect and the inconsistency that would result if the Russians, while joining, as I believed, frankly and cordially with the other Powers in urging the complete execution of the Treaty of Berlin in certain points, were, at the same time, found to be secretly working to defeat its provisions in regard to Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

Prince Lobanoff said that he quite agreed that such a course of conduct would be inconsistent and ill-judged. He felt convinced, however, that the efforts of the Russian authorities were being directed to the prevention of any insurrectionary movement in the Balkan Peninsula, and his Government were confident that no such movement would take place. He gave as his reason for this impression the great indisposition of any of the Christian populations in Turkey to rise against Ottoman rule. This was noticeable even with the Greeks, who were the most excitable of the several races. The Bulgarians, he said, were a quiet, slow, industrious race, very fond of money, and not addicted to political enthusiasm or to making sacrifices for political objects. This had been strikingly instanced at the commencement of the recent war with Turkey.

The Russian Government had been assured that at the first signal of an attack upon Turkey the whole of the Bulgarians would rise against the Porte. But when the Servian war had commenced, and even later, when Russia had declared war, not a man had moved. Prince Lobanoff asked me whether I could give him any particulars of the information which had reached me as to the amount of arms and soldiers from Russia.

I said I would send him a memorandum on the subject. But I repeated that what I was anxious to suggest for consideration was the general principle that it would be impolitic and inconsistent on the part of the Russian Government to pursue in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia a policy contradictory to that which they were following, in concert with the other Powers, in regard to other questions affected by the Treaty of Berlin.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 446.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1275. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 22, 1880.*

IT appears from your despatch No. 877 of the 20th instant that the French Government contemplate, in replying to the third question put by the Porte in their Circular telegram of the 17th to the Ottoman Representatives abroad, expressing indifference as to the particular line of frontier to be drawn to the east of Lake Scutari.

Such an answer would, as it appears to Her Majesty's Government, establish the existence of a shade of difference with the Powers, and Her Majesty's Government therefore hope that the French Government will not reply in the sense indicated.

I have this day telegraphed to you to the above effect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 447.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 23.)

(No. 420.)
My Lord, *Rome, September* 19, 1880.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 571 of the 15th instant, repeating the information conveyed to Mr. Green that, by some mistake, I had allowed the Italian Government to understand that the reports relative to the language of the Italian Agents at Scutari had come from him, I beg to offer the following explanation:—

When I first mentioned the subject to M. Malvano, the Political Under-Secretary in charge of the Foreign Office during Count Maffei's absence, he was already aware of such rumours being in circulation at Scutari and in Montenegro, and he himself suggested that they had been repeated to Mr. Green by Riza Pasha.

Count Corti's subsequent reports that Riza Pasha had complained to the Porte, and to several foreign Representatives, of the action and language of the Italian Agents, confirmed Signor Malvano's suspicions that the originator of these mischievous rumours was Riza Pasha, and that your Lordship's informant was Mr. Green.

Under these circumstances, I beg to submit that, though I may have erred in not denying that the reports came from Mr. Green, I did not quote his name as that of your Lordship's informant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

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No. 448.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.*—(*Received September* 23.)

(Confidential.)
My Lord, *Admiralty, September* 22, 1880.

I HAVE laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 21st instant, sending copies of telegrams which have passed between the Foreign Office and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, one of which allows a certain discretion to Mr. Goschen and the other Ambassadors to the Porte in communicating to Sir Beauchamp Seymour a request as to the intended movements of the fleet.

2. My Lords desire me to acquaint you, for the information of Earl Granville, that this fact has been communicated to Sir Beauchamp Seymour by telegraph, and a copy of all the documents, with your letter, sent him by post, with directions to act accordingly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

P.S.—A copy of the telegram dispatched to-day is attached.

R. H.

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Inclosure in No. 448.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Telegraphic.) *Admiralty, September* 22, 1880.

FOREIGN Office acquaint us that, while deprecating delay, a certain discretion has been allowed to Goschen and the other Ambassadors in communicating to you a request as to the intended movements of the fleet.

You are to act accordingly.

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No. 449.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pauncefote.*—(*Received September* 23.)

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Admiralty, September* 23, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of a telegram which has been



received this day from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour in reply to Admiralty telegram, copy of which was forwarded to you in my letter of yesterday's date.

2. My Lords are desirous that the wishes of Earl Granville on the subject may be communicated at once.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 449.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 23, 1880, 10 A.M.

AM going to Cettinjé to see Prince of Montenegro. Your telegram to-day received. You may rely upon my endeavouring to carry out instructions best of my ability, but my position here becomes exceedingly difficult, and I earnestly beg that some definite period may be assigned, to which I may adhere, when I am to carry out orders of 8th September. At present voices of the colleagues are all agreeable, but the moment I show symptoms of a changed policy a change on their part may be expected. If possible, please answer this within eight hours here. I will make journey to Cettinjé an excuse for delay till Monday next.

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No. 450.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pauncefote.*—(*Received September* 23.)

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Admiralty, September* 23, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of a telegram which has been received from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, K.C.B., at Gravosa, reporting the steps which will be taken in the event of an unsatisfactory reply being received from Riza Pasha with respect to the cession of Dulcigno.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 450.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 22, 1880, 6·30 P.M.

I GO to Cattaro to-night; Cettinjé to-morrow. Should Riza Pasha's answer be unsatisfactory, shall arrange military action. In this case twenty-four hours' notice will be given on Saturday next to the Commandant at Dulcigno to clear out women and children, and such ships of the combined fleets as may be detailed for that purpose will steam down the coast, leaving on Sunday, weather permitting, passing Antivari, and remaining off Dulcigno.

Arrangements will be made with the Prince to be ready to advance and occupy by force Dulcigno position as the fleet passes along the coast.

This is contingent on the co-operation of the Montenegrins, of which, however, the most distinct assurance has been given, and is also dependent on the state of the weather, an element of uncertainty which cannot be disregarded, and which renders prolonged exposure of the fleet at Dulcigno very inexpedient. I shall telegraph from Cettinjé if it is possible.

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No. 451.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pauncefote.—(Received September 23.)*

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Admiralty, September 23, 1880.*

WITH reference to my letter of to-day, forwarding decipher of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will inform Earl Granville that the following has been sent to the Vice-Admiral in reply:—

"Your message No. 62 has been received: the telegram No. 27 (sent yesterday) does not modify your previous orders of the 8th September unless you receive a requisition from the British Ambassador at Constantinople."

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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No. 452.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 23, 2·30 P.M.)*

(No. 248.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 22, 1880.*

WITH reference to your No. 563, stating that you do not wish to take away all discretion from me and my colleagues in communicating any request to the British Admiral as to movements of the fleet:—

I communicated its substance to my colleagues, who attached the highest importance to it. They consider it greatly increases their responsibility, but that such a latitude is almost essential. They will telegraph to their Governments to confirm such an authorization. The Russian Ambassador stated that his Government had omitted the paragraph from the instructions to the Admiral which directs copies of telegrams and despatches to be sent to the Ambassador here. He thought the omission significant. None of my colleagues are in communication with the fleet, nor have they cyphers with commanding officers. They knew little of summons or other proceedings except through me, but I think are content to let communications pass through my intervention.

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No. 453.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 23.)*

(No. 249.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 22, 1880.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 557, I am of opinion that there would be no chance of a successful negotiation such as you suggest at the present moment. I will send reasons by messenger, only stating at once that the Ministries are at present entirely disorganized and all Government business at a standstill. Ministerial Councils lasting all day and night have quite worn out the Ministers, and they can scarcely be seen except when they are called out from the Council to confer with Ambassadors.

Strong political objections could also be raised against such a negotiation with the feeling at present existing.

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No. 454.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 23, 11·30 A.M.)*

(No. 250.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 22, 1880, 11 P.M.*

MUSURUS PASHA called on me to-day to warn me of extreme gravity of crisis. The Sultan and Porte were quite determined not to accept the naval demonstration, and to refuse to yield to such pressure. We must be prepared for the worst. The Turks could not understand an attack by ships of war on their territory. Surely there was either peace or war. I ought to understand that the Sultan had greatly gained in



popularity by his firmness in resisting Europe; that His Majesty could not and would not disregard public opinion; and that the Sultan and the Government were under the rod of the fanatical party. The Government would not dare to act otherwise than they were doing.

I remarked that he was reciting the language of the Circular telegram, which, however, if he had been in London he would have been ashamed to present. His Excellency denied the authorship with much energy, but he repeated that public agitation was great even in Constantinople, and the feeling, especially against England, intense. Mr. Gladstone's speech in favour of Montenegro at this juncture had caused the greatest irritation, and the Turks were becoming convinced that the English Government meant to turn them out of Europe.

His Excellency probably exaggerates greatly, but the feeling is certainly becoming general that a very grave crisis is at hand.

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No. 455.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 23, 5 A.M.)*

(No. 251.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 23, 1880, 12·30 A.M.*

GERMAN Ambassador had three hours' conversation with the Sultan on Tuesday night. Not any symptom of yielding. All that really appeared was that Dulcigno should be given up if the four conditions were accepted by Powers. His Majesty was perfectly self-possessed, but very much irritated on certain points. He did not ask German Ambassador to take any steps, either with his Government or with his colleagues, but repeated his own views over and over again.

With regard to safety of Consuls and foreigners at Scutari, His Majesty was satisfactory. Scutari should be placed in a state of siege, and most stringent orders given for immediate punishment of any who should attack foreigners.

We have no clear information of decision of Council, except that it was in the direction of resisting the pressure of the naval demonstration. Musurus Pasha, who was present, told me that only Khaireddin, Safvet, and Kadri Pashas were for unconditional surrender of Dulcigno; and that Said Pasha, who presided, scarcely gave an opinion, but was reproached for indifference to national honour by one of the many Generals present. No information as to the four conditions has been given to the Ambassadors by the Foreign Minister or the Porte.

We settled to-day that I should see Prime Minister to-day, and, resuming my conversation of Monday, endeavour to bring him to book as to the Government instructions to Riza Pasha and as to his own declaration of Monday, which differ so materially from those communicated by the Sultan.

My colleagues, except Russian Ambassador, think attempts should not be abandoned to arrange for peaceable surrender. I myself consider the new demand for a pledge that, if Dulcigno is surrendered, no naval demonstration shall take place, even for Greek question, as so preposterous that I have no hope that an arrangement is possible, but if Said's views, communicated in my telegram No. 238, were accepted by the Sultan, a formula for a conditional declaration might possibly be found.

(Secret.)

My colleagues, except the Russian, made the impression on me yesterday that, now that the actual moment has almost arrived, they were staggered by the contemplation of the possible contingencies involved in the application of force.

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No. 456.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 23.)*

(No. 252.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 23, 1880.*

ANSWER from the Porte to last note received couched in very peremptory language.

After a long preamble reciting the previous stages of these negotiations, and describing the situation, the note states that, "consequently the Imperial Government, in order to put an end to such a state of things by a last deliberate, single, and categorical step, sees itself obliged to subordinate the evacuation of Dulcigno to obtaining from the signatory Cabinets formal and official assurances on the three following conditions:—

"1. The abandonment by the Powers of any intention of a naval demonstration on any question whatever.

"2. Guarantee of the property, life, honour, and of all the rights of those of the inhabitants who may wish to emigrate, as well as of the property, life, honour, and above all, of the religion, as also of the other rights of such as may not wish to leave their homes.

"3. An acceptance on the part of the Powers of the *status quo* as proposed by the Porte, and the abandonment of any idea of making any other demand, of any kind whatever, as regards Montenegro.

"Thus the Imperial Government declares, to its regret, that it cannot resolve on making the painful sacrifice of the evacuation of Dulcigno until it has received formal assurances with regard to the above-mentioned conditions.

"But should the Powers not consider it opportune to accept the reasonable demands of the Porte, passing them over in silence, or should they think it their duty to reject them, while continuing to exercise pressure on the Government, and while proceeding with the naval demonstration, the Undersigned has the honour to inform their Excellencies that his Government will be unable to order the local authorities to evacuate Dulcigno."

I will telegraph the substance of the remainder at night in a subsequent telegram.

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No. 457.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 23, 2·20 P.M.)

(No. 7.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 23, 1880, 11 A.M.

THE arrangements mentioned in my telegram of to-day have been voted at a meeting of Admirals, except that the fleet will be shown for a brief period off Dulcigno before taking active part in military operations, should such be necessary. All concur, including the French, except that the latter will not actually fire a shot. Please address me here; telegram will be forwarded on to me.

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No. 458.

*Captain Lord W. Kerr to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 23, 6 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, September* 23, 1880, 10·15 A.M.

GREEN left for Ragusa yesterday.

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No. 459.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 23, 7·55 P.M.)

(No. 102.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 23, 1880, 6·30 P.M.

YOUR Confidential telegram No. 480.

French Government have given no answer to last Circular of the Porte, and have not telegraphed to Constantinople since 18th.

Though they have been always indifferent about line east of Ibke, they will not mention this to the Porte; and as lately as yesterday Turkish Chargé d'Affaires was told that they would never separate themselves from the other Powers. See last paragraph of my telegram No. 97 of the 20th.

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No. 460.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.**

(No. 570.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880, 4 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Chargé d'Affaires informs me that Austrian Government have given Turkish Ambassador at Vienna following answer to three questions in Turkish Circular:—

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 635), Lord Odo Russell (No. 578), Mr. Macdonell (No. 621), and Mr. Plunkett (No. 709).



"Ambassadors at Constantinople have already agreed to formula respecting rights of Mussulmans and Catholics.

"As to naval demonstration, Commander-in-chief was, on that very day, sending Riza Pasha summons to surrender Dulcigno, and in case he did not do so action of Powers would commence in three days.

"One month having elapsed from expiration of delay fixed in note of the 3rd August, and Porte not having seriously availed itself of this delay, but having continually brought up dilatory proposals, it alone must bear responsibility for consequences resulting from non-execution of the surrender.

"Concerning the demarcation line eastwards from Lake Scutari, Austrian Government were not aware of any line previously agreed upon with regard to the *status quo*. They knew of no other line than that described in the last collective note to the Porte, and they must insist upon its execution."

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No. 461.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 575.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880, 7 P.M.

IN answer to telegram informing him that a certain discretion was allowed to the Ambassadors in regard to the movements of fleet, Admiral Seymour telegraphs following:—

"*September* 23, 10 A.M.

"You may rely upon my endeavouring to carry out instructions to best of my ability, but my position here becomes exceedingly difficult, and I earnestly beg that some definite period may be assigned to which I may adhere when I am to carry out orders of the 8th September. At present voices of colleagues are all agreeable, but the moment I show symptoms of a changed policy a change on their part must be expected. If possible answer this within eight hours here. I will make journey to Cettinjé an excuse for delay till Monday."

Following reply has been telegraphed:—

"The telegram of yesterday does not modify your previous orders of the 8th September, unless you receive a requisition from the British Ambassador at Constantinople."

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No. 462.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No 576.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880, 9·30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 20th instant, informing you of my language to Musurus Bey respecting the Porte's Circular of the 17th instant, the answer to the first of the three questions in the Circular should be that the summons for the surrender of Dulcigno has already been sent, and that, in the event of its remaining without effect, the action of the Powers would begin within three days; that the responsibility for the consequences resulting from the non-execution of the surrender must rest upon the Porte, which has allowed more than a month to elapse from the date fixed in the note of the 3rd August without taking any serious steps to settle the question.

As to the second question, the Powers have already agreed to a stipulation for securing the liberties and property of the Mussulmans and Catholics in the ceded districts.

With regard to the line of the *status quo* eastwards of the Lake of Scutari, no such line has been previously agreed to, and Her Majesty's Government must insist upon the line defined in the collective note.

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No. 463.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 577.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880, 10·45 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 247, I concur in postponement of communication of self-denying Protocol under the circumstances, and leave the communication to your discretion.

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No. 464.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 491.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880, 10·15 P.M.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 888, you may inform the French Government, in answer to M. Courcel's inquiry, that I refused to give Musurus Bey any separate answer to the questions in the Porte's Circular of the 17th instant, saying that the matter was in the hands of the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

You may inform them of the terms of the instructions to Mr. Goschen in my telegram No. 576, which has been repeated to you.

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No. 465.

*Earl Granville to Lord Odo Russell.**

(No. 615. Extender.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880.

I INCLOSE copy of a memorandum left with me yesterday by the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires† in regard to a despatch communicated to his Government by the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna relative to the naval demonstration; to the rights of Mahommedans in Dulcigno; and to the frontier line eastward from Lake Scutari, the substance of which was telegraphed to your Excellency to-day.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 466.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1280 A. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 888 of the 21st instant, reporting a question put to you by Baron de Courcel whether Her Majesty's Government had sent any instructions to Mr. Goschen with reference to the Circular telegram of the Porte of the 17th instant.

I have to authorize you to state to the French Government, in reply, that I have declined to give Musurus Bey any separate answer to the questions in the Porte's Circular of the 17th instant, saying that the matter was in the hands of the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

You may further inform the French Government of the terms of my instructions to Mr. Goschen of this day's date, which have been already communicated to you.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 620), Mr. Goschen (No. 500), Mr. Plunkett (No. 476), Mr. Adams (No. 1283), and Mr. Macdonell (No. 529).

† No. 430.



No. 467.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 520. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1880.

YOUR Excellency will have learnt from my telegram No. 552 of the 20th instant the purport of the reply I returned to Musurus Bey's inquiry respecting the Porte's Circular of the 15th instant regarding Montenegro. Her Majesty's Government have now had the note in question under their consideration, and are of opinion that the answer to the three questions contained in it should be to the following effect:—

To the first question in the Circular the reply should be that the summons for the surrender of Dulcigno had already been sent, and that, in the event of its remaining without effect, the action of the Powers would commence within three days; that the responsibility for the consequences resulting from the non-execution of the surrender must rest upon the Porte, which had allowed more than a month to elapse from the date fixed in the note of the 3rd August without taking any serious steps to settle the matter.

As regards the second question, Her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with the other Great Powers, have already agreed to a stipulation for securing the liberties and property of the Mussulmans and Catholics in the districts to be ceded.

With reference to the third question, respecting the line of the *statu quo* to the east of the Lake of Scutari, Her Majesty's Government cannot admit that any such line has been previously agreed to, and they must insist upon the line defined in the collective note of the 3rd August being adhered to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 468.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 24.)

(No. 96. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, September* 8, 1880.

I HEAR that the Governor-General of Salonica has recently been telegraphically informed that the Mahommedans in Kustendil and other districts in Bulgaria are preparing to cross over into Turkish territory, in consequence of the Bulgarian Government having issued an order for their immediate enrolment in the local militia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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No. 469.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 24.)

(No. 97. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, September* 8, 1880.

THE Governor-General of Salonica has received and caused to be published in the local official "Gazette" a Vizirial letter from the Porte stating that in the future 10 per cent. of the provincial revenue, after deducting the expenses of the Local Administration, will be devoted to education and public works in the province.

I believe in the project of Reform drawn up by the late International Commission at Constantinople a larger portion of the provincial revenue is set aside for the above purposes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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No. 470.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 24, morning.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Cettinje, September 23, 1880, 11·40 P.M.*

THE Admiral, wishing to communicate direct with the Prince of Montenegro as to concerted military action, came up here to-day, taking me with him.

In the course of conversation the Prince of Montenegro stated that on the direct invitation of England, through its Representative, he had got his troops ready by the 15th instant to occupy Dulcigno position, if necessary by force, and that these troops were being maintained at a great and even ruinous outlay.

The Prince emphatically added that when he received the official invitation of the Commanding Officer of the fleet to act, he would advance to occupy position even if he were opposed by Turkish regulars.

The Admiral has received a telegram from the Admiralty stating that a certain discretion has been given Mr. Goschen as to delaying action, but no orders contrary to the Admiral's instructions have as yet been received, and the action taken on these instructions has proceeded so far that any further delay, besides pressing very hardly on Montenegro, would not only render that action almost ridiculous, but would risk the failure of joint action by land and sea owing to expected setting in of the autumnal rain and storm.

The Admiral, who has seen this, asks that it may be forwarded to Admiralty.

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No. 471.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 24, 6·40 A.M.*)

(No. 253.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 23, 1880, 11·50 P.M.*

IN continuation of my telegram No. 252, note proceeds with a passage so literally translated from the Turkish that it is quite unintelligible. Explanations were asked this afternoon, but officially refused.

Unofficially it was stated that passage meant, "Seeing that Turkey is resolved to make sacrifices, however painful, and this in the interests of peace, and seeing that it is perfectly willing to evacuate Dulcigno, provided that the three points are admitted, it can perceive no plausible grounds which can induce the Powers to reject its demands."

Note continues to the following effect:—

"It is evident that, if the exercise of pressure is persisted in, the responsibility of future complications will not fall on the Imperial Government. As, in such a contingency, their conduct will be in the eyes of every one, they have decided on making known to the whole world the painful proceedings to which they have been subjected."

In conclusion, Minister for Foreign Affairs states that, "should the Powers be willing to adhere to the above conditions, the Porte is ready to evacuate Dulcigno, and to enter into negotiations with Montenegro."

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No. 472.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 24, 6·40 A.M.*)

(No. 254.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 24, 1880, 12·30 A.M.*

IN view of the very uncompromising tone of the last note of the Porte, Ambassadors considered it would be both useless and inexpedient for me to see Prime Minister yesterday.

I presume that matters must now take their course. After much consideration, none of us can see any further steps here likely to bring about a peaceful solution. We have categorical instructions that no further negotiations on the frontier-line can be entertained, and no Cabinet, I presume, would entertain demand as to renouncing all intention of any other naval demonstration.

German Ambassador believes that the key to the situation is that the Sultan believes that if he once gives way to a naval demonstration it will in future always be employed against him, and he is powerless in the hands of Europe.

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No. 473.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 24, 6·40 A.M.*)

(No. 255. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 24, 1880, 12·30 A.M.*

I HAVE ascertained, but not through the German Ambassador, that after his long audience with the Sultan, reported in my telegram No. 251, the latter sent a telegram to the German Emperor appealing to his good offices. The German Ambassador saw the terms of the telegram. I have asked him whether this information was correct, and he tells me that it is so.

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No. 474.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 24.*)

(No. 257.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 24, 1880.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 575, I have [? sent] following to Admiral:—

"I may confidentially inform you that nothing is occurring here which would make delay advisable. The Sultan and Porte continue to refuse to surrender Dulcigno, except on conditions which the Powers cannot accept."

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No. 475.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September 24, 7·16 A.M.*)

(No. 89. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Philippopoli, September 24, 1880, 1·50 A.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 88 of the 18th instant, Aleko Pasha has decided not to resign at present. With a view, however, of having an excuse ready, he has addressed letters by yesterday's post to Grand Vizier and Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, stating that the income he receives as Governor-General is insufficient, and that, unless the Signatory Powers agree to increase it, he will be obliged to resign.

(Sent to Therapia.)

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No. 476.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 578.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 24, 1880, 1·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 248, the discretion left to you in my telegram No. 563 only applies in case of practical and conclusive arrangement in accordance with declared decision.

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No. 477.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*[*]

(No. 581.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 24, 1880, 6·15 P.M.*

FOLLOWING telegram has been sent to Admiral Seymour:—

"We have perfect confidence in, and do not wish to interfere with, your discretion, but we hope that if force is required, it will be restricted as much as possible to military positions."

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[*] Also to Lord Odo Russell (No. 595), Mr. Plunkett (No. 716), Mr. Adams (No. 498), Mr. Macdonell (No. 636), and Sir H. Elliot (No. 660).

No. 478.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.*

(No. 635.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1880, 5·45 P.M.

YOU may communicate to Count Maffei any information in repeated telegrams as to progress of events, omitting remarks by Admiral or Consul intended for Her Majesty's Government alone.

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No. 479.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 24, 6·10 P.M.)

(No. 154.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 24, 1880, 5 P.M.

M. DE KÁLLAY telegraphed to Pesth to ask Baron Haymerle what answer was to be returned to the proposal to give their Ambassador at Constantinople some discretion in communicating with the Admiral.

His Excellency answered that he would wish, before deciding, to talk the matter over on returning to Vienna, where he will arrive this evening.

There seems to be some apprehension that it might lead to confusion.

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No. 480.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 24, 6 P.M.)

(No. 155.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 24, 1880. 5·20 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Consul at Scutari inquired whether his Government wished him to leave, and stated that he did not apprehend danger if he remained.

He was told that he might come away if he thought himself in danger, but that he must himself judge if it was necessary.

Prince Reuss tells me that similar instructions are sent to the German Consul.

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No. 481.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 515.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1880.

I HAVE to request you to thank Colonel Wilson, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, for the valuable Report he has furnished with regard to the treatment and condition of the minor populations in the Department of Bourgas, which was inclosed in your Excellency's despatch No. 346 of the 10th instant.

I have transmitted copies of Colonel Wilson's Report to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburgh, and I have instructed them to communicate its substance confidentially to the Governments to which they are accredited, and to sound those Governments as to their willingness to remonstrate jointly or singly against the abuses described by Colonel Wilson.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 482

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 118.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1880.

YOUR despatch No. 287 of the 5th instant respecting an interview you have had with two important Chiefs of the Gruda tribe has been received, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language you held to those Chiefs



respecting their attitude with regard to the cessions of territory to be made to Montenegro under the Duleigno arrangement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 483.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 119.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1880.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 270 of the 2nd instant, I approve the language which you held in reply to the observations of the Russian and Italian Representatives in Montenegro as to the improbability of the Duleigno arrangement being brought to a satisfactory issue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 484.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 120.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 278 of the 2nd instant reporting the steps you took to ascertain from Prince Nicholas whether he would be prepared to send his troops to take possession of Duleigno under the protection of the ships of war of the Powers when he should be invited to do so; and I have to acquaint you that your proceedings in this matter are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 485.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 25.)

(No. 361.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 17, 1880.

I HAVE at last received an answer to my note to the Porte, written on the 28th July, asking for dates and details as to the events complained of by the Porte in its notes of the 15th and 23rd July as having taken place in Bulgaria.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of this answer from the Porte, as also copy of a despatch which I have written to Mr. Lascelles on the subject.

Your Lordship will observe that nothing is alleged to have happened since April. It will now probably be right, if the original notes of the Porte are answered at all after so long a delay in their reply to my inquiries for particulars, to refer to the measures taken by General Ehrenroth, to the new assurances of M. Zancoff, and to the impossibility of further inquiry after the lapse of so much time. With reference to the proposal that the Bulgarians should be disarmed, it may be right to assume that it was scarcely meant seriously; but it may be stated in reply that General Ehrenroth has initiated a system under which Mussulman villages are armed also for their own defence.

These are my personal ideas, but according to your Lordship's instructions, I shall only act in concert with my colleagues in this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 485.

*Abédine Pasha to Mr. Goschen.*

*Sublime Porte, le* 11 *Septembre*, 1880.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

J'AI reçu la note que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 28 Juillet dernier relativement aux incidents qui ont eu lieu en Bulgarie.

Je m'empresse de vous informer, en réponse, que les événements mentionnés dans mes notes Circulaires des 15 et 21 Juillet se sont produits le $\frac{24 \text{ Août}}{5 \text{ Mai}}$ et ont continué les deux jours suivants. Ils ont été portés à la connaissance de mon Département par des Rapports officiels ci-joints en résumé et datés du mois de Juin dernier.

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer en outre sous ce pli à votre Excellence une nouvelle copie de la notice annexée à la première de mes deux Circulaires précitées et indiquant les dates auxquelles ont été commis les faits y mentionnés. En même temps que j'appelais l'attention de MM. les Représentants des Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin sur les faits dont il s'agit, j'adressais deux notes sur le même sujet à l'Agence de la Principauté de Bulgarie à Constantinople. Ces communications sont restées jusqu'à present sans réponse.

Nous comptons dans cette question sur l'appui bienveillant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dont nous connaissons les sentiments d'humanité et de haute justice.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ABÉDINE.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 485.

*Résumé d'un Rapport de la Commission des Emigrés, en date du* 15 *Juin*, 1880 (v.s.).

PAR suite de la sécheresse de cette année les Musulmans de Bellova se rendaient selon l'usage au village d'Akhallis pour y faire des prières publiques lorsque des miliciens Bulgares, appuyés par les habitants des localités avoisinantes, tombèrent sur le village de Bellova, le pillèrent et le dévastèrent complètement. Ils mirent à mort la plupart des habitants et emmenèrent avec eux plus de 200 femmes et enfants.

*Résumé d'un Rapport reçu de Sophia à la date du* 18 *Juin*, 1880.

Vingt-trois villages Musulmans situés tant dans la Principauté que dans la Roumelie Orientale ont été attaqués, saccagés, et pillés par les Bulgares, qui en ont incendié et détruit plusieurs de fond en comble. Les habitants ont été massacrés ou soumis aux traitements les plus infâmes.

Contrairement aux affirmations des autorités locales, il y a lieu de faire remarquer que la première attaque contre Bellova a été faite par des paysans Bulgares que la troupe armée s'était tenue cachée et que les Musulmans, se croyant attaqués par des brigands ayant voulu se défendre, les miliciens se firent voir et la scène d'horreur commença.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 485.

*Mr. Goschen to Mr. Lascelles.*

*Therapia, Septembre* 17, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to my two despatches of the 22nd July last, relative to certain events which are alleged to have occurred in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, I beg leave to acquaint you that I called the attention of the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs to the fact that no dates in connection with any of these events were given in the notes from the Sublime Porte of the 15th and 23rd July, with copies of which you have been already furnished.

I have now received from the Sublime Porte the note in reply of which I forward a copy herewith. Another copy of the printed Circular which accompanied the note from the Porte of the 15th July has been sent to me with this note, in the margin of which is written against the first paragraph the date of the 18th April, 1296 (o.s.). Opposite to the second paragraph is written the date of the 24th April, 1296 (o.s.); and bracketed against the remaining paragraph, on the same page, are inscribed the words, "Faits généraux commis durant le mois de Décembre et de Janvier, 1295 (v.s.)."



The note of the 11th instant also inclosed a résumé of a Report dated the 18th June last, on the destruction of Bellova, as well as of a Report dated the 18th June, 1880, from Sophia, on the alleged destruction of the twenty-three villages situated in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. A copy of this document is likewise annexed herewith for your information.

The Porte would probably allege that, though the events complained of happened as long ago as April, they were not officially brought to its notice till it received the Reports dated the 18th June; but it is more than strange that, looking to the notoriety of these events, they should not have been brought to the notice of the Powers by the Porte till the 15th and 23rd July; and that my note asking for dates and details, written on the 28th July, should not have been answered till the 11th September.

I shall probably concert with my colleagues as to the reply, if any, to be sent to the two previous notes of the Porte of the 15th and 23rd July, though it is very late to answer at all.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 486.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 25.)

(No. 362.)

*Therapia, September* 17, 1880.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the collective note presented to the Porte on the 16th instant, with respect to the Montenegrin frontier.

On comparing the note as sent in with the Austrian draft which had been agreed upon by the Cabinets, your Lordship will find a few unimportant alterations. A discussion was raised at the very first moment by the Russian Ambassador as to the insertion into the note of the reservation made by the Emperor of Russia with regard to the abandonment of Dinosi to the Turks. As communicated to me by your Lordship in telegram No. 516, the Emperor of Russia had stipulated that if the cession of Dulcigno were not carried out immediately, the Prince of Montenegro should resume his claim on Dinosi.

M. de Novikoff had no instructions that such a reservation was to be embodied in the note, but this reservation itself having been communicated to him from Livadia as the Emperor's view, nothing would content his Excellency save the addition of a phrase to the above effect in the note. The Austrian Ambassador assured us that the Russian Ambassador at Vienna had stated that the condition need not be inserted in our collective answer, but M. de Novikoff declined to accept the evidence thus offered as to the views of the Russian Government.

The wish of his august Master had been communicated to him direct from Livadia, and he must ask for further instructions to sign the note unless the proposed addition were made.

The rest of the Ambassadors were unanimously of opinion that it is quite unnecessary to take the course proposed, and that there were several objections to it, but we were equally unanimous in thinking that it was most important that the delay which would ensue by M. de Novikoff telegraphing for instructions should be avoided, and accordingly the desired insertion was made in the text of the note.

We were particularly anxious not to lose another day, because we were aware that the Porte is preparing a Circular note, in which, amongst other proposals, the acceptance of the *status quo* line east of the Lake of Scutari would be made a *sine qua non* of the cession of Dulcigno, and we wished that the Porte before putting forward a note with fresh demands, should have the final answer to the proposals last made. Regret was expressed that the note, drawn up as it was three weeks ago, before the *status quo* line had been mooted and before the movements of the Albanians round Dulcigno had become so menacing, did not state in explicit terms that the Powers had said their last word, and that if no action were taken by the Porte within a fixed number of days the naval demonstration would take place.

I had telegraphed to your Lordship asking whether the Austrian draft of the note must be regarded as final. I did not receive your Lordship's reply to the effect that it must be considered final till after the note had been signed, but in consideration of the great loss of time which must be faced if five Cabinets have to be consulted on a change, I did not trouble your Lordship with any suggestion of change of language. Your Lordship had, however, authorized me by telegram No. 518 to inform the Porte,

in addition to the note, that immediate action is expected and that we disclaim all responsibility for results arising from delay, adding that I was to concert with my colleagues relative to language I should hold. Other colleagues had received similar instructions, and we discussed together what language should be held. We agreed that we would all press for immediate action as suggested by your Lordship, and further that we should clearly explain to the new Minister that there was no chance of any fresh negotiations on the *status quo* being for one moment entertained.

Some of us were able to carry out this agreement yesterday when we called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and all will, I have no doubt, make an opportunity to do so at once.

But, in view of the change of Government, of the proposed protest against the naval demonstration and the general attitude of the Porte, most of the Ambassadors are inclined to think that further steps are necessary, and that the day should now be fixed, after which, if Dulcigno has not been previously ceded, the ships will sail from Ragusa.

I have telegraphed to your Lordship to this effect, specially urging the importance of the Ambassadors here being authorized to meet any further attempts on the part of the Ottoman Government to open negotiations with a direct refusal and the intimation that the fleet will positively sail.

The impression prevails that the Government think that they can at any time prevent the naval demonstration by surrendering Dulcigno at the very last moment, and that, therefore, they will not take the decisive step until they see that it can no longer be avoided.

I inclose a copy of the map handed to the Porte with the collective note. None of us, except the Austrian Ambassador, had authoritative copies of the map showing "the district of Dinosi and its territories."

The Austrian Military Attaché is absent from Pera, and Baron Calice accordingly asked that Captain Swaine should make a copy of the map for the Turkish Government.

I readily assented, on the understanding, however, that, as we had no official map showing the new frontier and the district of Dinosi ourselves, the Austrian Embassy were responsible for the document sent in.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 486.

*The Representatives of the Powers Signatory to the Treaty of Berlin at Constantinople to Assym Pasha.*

*Constantinople, ce 15 Septembre*, 1880.

LES Soussignés ont communiqué à leurs Gouvernements la note en date du 18 Août dernier, par laquelle la Sublime Porte a répondu à leur note collective du 3 du même mois, relative à la cession de Dulcigno au Monténégro.

Les Puissances représentées par les Soussignés, prenant en considération les motifs allégués par la Porte pour obtenir que le district de Gruda tout entier soit laissé à l'Albanie, sont disposées à accepter la réserve formulée dans la note du 18 Août, en ce qui concerne Dinosi et son territoire.

Elles ne sauraient, toutefois, pour ce qui regarde l'étendue du territoire de Gruda, admettre d'autre interprétation que celle qui a été adoptée par la majorité de la Commission Européenne chargée de la délimitation de Monténégro.

Il est donc bien entendu que la ligne de démarcation proposée pour les districts situés à l'est du Lac de Scutari, par la note collective du 3 Août dernier, sera maintenue dans tout son parcours, sauf en ce qui concerne le territoire de Dinosi, telle qu'elle est indiquée sur la carte annexée à la présente communication.

Il est également entendu que dans le cas où l'arrangement dont il s'agit ne recevrait pas une prompte exécution, la transaction présentement consentie par les Puissances relativement à Dinosi serait annulée.

En portant ce qui précède à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte, les Puissances représentées par les Soussignés lui font observer qu'en procédant immédiatement à la remise effective des territoires que le présent arrangement adjuge au Monténégro, sauf celui de Dinosi, le Gouvernement Ottoman donnerait une preuve de la sincérité de ses intentions, dont elles seraient disposées à lui tenir compte.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 486.

*Map.*

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No. 487.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25.)*

(No. 307. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, September 14, 1880.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 98 of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith the copy of Voïvoda Radonich's note to me of yesterday, setting forth the anxiety of the Montenegrin Government for the speedy solution of the Dulcigno arrangement. In M. Radonich's note your Lordship will observe an allusion to the necessity under which the Montenegrin Government is of submitting itself to whatever the Powers may decide, and it is connected no doubt with the intimation I thought it well to give to his Excellency, in a private form, of the notice contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 86 of the 9th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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Inclosure in No. 487.

*M. Radonich to Mr. Kirby Green.*

M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Cettigné, le 1/13 Septembre*, 1880.

J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre officielle en date du 11 courant, par laquelle vous voulez bien m'annoncer que la date de la marche des escadres réunies sur Dulcigno dépend d'un accord qui est encore à obtenir de la Porte.

Je prends la liberté de vous réitérer, M. le Chargé d'Affaires, que les troupes Monténégrines sont déjà concentrées à Soutorman prêtes à avancer au premier avis.

Le Gouvernement Princier attend cet avis avec impatience parce que un retard prolongé, outre qu'il pourrait compromettre, à cause de la saison avancée, la démonstration navale, causerait de graves embarras financiers à la Principauté.

En ce qui concerne la modification de la ligne proposée par l'initiative Anglaise, et dont vous faites allusion dans votre lettre particulière, nous sommes informé qu'elle porte seulement sur la cession du village de Dinoch et de ses environs.

Dans l'espoir que ce nouveau sacrifice ne lui sera imposé par l'Europe que comme une garantie de la solution prompte et pacifique de la question générale des frontières, Son Altesse ne pouvant pas augmenter les difficultés à l'œuvre entreprise par les Grandes Puissances se soumettre à la nécessité; mais elle espère fermement que ce sera le dernier sacrifice qu'on lui demande, d'autant plus que toute négociation ultérieure ne serait qu'un prétexte de la part de la Porte pour se soustraire à ses obligations, et en attendant les concessions de notre part, quelles qu'elles soient, n'avanceront guère la solution définitive de la question qui dépend, comme vous le savez, des causes bien différentes.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) V. S. RADONICH.

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No. 488.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25.)*

(No. 308. Political.)
My Lord, *Scutari, September 11, 1880.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 178 of the 27th June last, I have the honour to report that the Turkish troops here have, since that date, been reinforced in the following manner:—2nd battalion of 2nd regiment of 1st Army Corps, 1st battalion of 8th regiment of 1st Army Corps, 4th battalion of 10th regiment of 2nd Army Corps, 3rd battalion of 24th regiment of 3rd Army Corps, 3rd battalion of 40th regiment of 5th Army Corps, 2nd battalion of 154th regiment of 5th Army Corps.

All these battalions average 750 men, in excellent condition, being well clothed and fed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

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No. 489.

*Consul Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25.)*

(No. 10. Political.) *Corfu, September 21, 1880.*

My Lord,

AN Austrian Military Attaché passed through this some ten days ago, *en route* for Santa Maura and Prevesa.

I instructed Vice-Consul Onofrio, of Santa Maura, to give his attention to the subject, and he now reports to me as follows:—

"The Austrian Military Attaché is now at Janina. According to authoritative information in my possession, he is charged with a politico-military mission in Epirus, and is furnished with a Firman authorizing him to inspect all the forts and the strategical positions in that province."

With regard to the Turco-Greek question the natives of these islands are extremely despondent, and openly say that the question is, in their opinion, very far from its solution. They insist that the resources of Greece are inadequate to maintain such a military force as is now being enrolled for any length of time; and they really think that bankruptcy, and, indeed, a national catastrophe, must be the result, if this state of things continues much longer.

It is held, of course, that Europe is bound in honour to assist Greece in obtaining what the late Conference ceded to them. The foregoing is the feeling of the Ionians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

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No. 490.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25.)*

(No. 896. Confidential. Extender.) *Paris, September 23, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 877 of the 20th instant, and to your Lordship's Confidential telegram of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to report that I could only see M. de Courcel late this afternoon, owing to the change of Ministers.

I said to him that Her Majesty's Government trusted that the French Government would not reply to the third question in the Porte's last Circular by expressing indifference as to the line of frontier to the east of Lake Scutari, as this would establish a shade of difference between France and the other Powers.

M. de Courcel answered that the French Government had given no reply at all to the Circular, and indeed they had not telegraphed to M. Tissot since the 18th instant.

He had often told me, he continued, that the French Government were indifferent as to how the line was drawn to the east of Lake Scutari, but he assured me that they would not mention this to the Porte, and he added that, as late as yesterday, he had informed the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires that they would never separate themselves from the other Powers in this matter.

Your Lordship will see, by referring to the last paragraph of my despatch No. 872 of the 20th instant, extending my telegram No. 97, that M. de Courcel used this same language to me during the interview to which my despatch No. 877 also referred.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 491.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25.)*

(No. 897.)

My Lord, *Paris, September 24, 1880.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 491 of yesterday evening, I have informed Baron de Courcel that your Lordship had refused to give any separate answer to Musurus Bey with regard to the questions in the Porte's Circular of the 17th instant, and that you had told him that the matter was in the hands of the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

I also made M. de Courcel acquainted with the tenour of the instructions which your Lordship has sent to Mr. Goschen as to the answer to the three questions put by the Porte. This information is contained in the telegram to Mr. Goschen which has been repeated to me in your Lordship's telegram No. 490 of yesterday evening.

M. de Courcel thanked me for my communication, and then showed me a telegraphic despatch which had been received from M. Tissot with reference to a note which the Porte has now transmitted to the Representatives at Constantinople laying down conditions for the surrender of Dulcigno.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 492.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25.)*

(No. 898.)

My Lord, *Paris, September 24, 1880.*

SINCE writing my preceding despatch I have received a letter from M. de Courcel, forwarding to me, as he states, according to the desire expressed by Mr. Goschen to M. Tissot, and in accordance with instructions from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, a copy of a telegram from M. Tissot giving a résumé of the answer made by the Porte to the collective note of the Powers, dated the 15th instant, on the Montenegrin question.

I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of the letter and its inclosure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 492.

*M. de Courcel to Mr. Adams.*

Mon cher Ministre, *Paris, le 24 Septembre, 1880.*

SUIVANT le désir exprimé par Mr. Goschen à M. Tissot et d'après les instructions de M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint la copie d'un télégramme de l'Ambassadeur de France à Constantinople résumant la réponse qui vient d'être faite par la Porte Ottomane à la note collective des Puissances en date du 15 Septembre concernant les affaires du Monténégro.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) A. DE COURCEL.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 492.

*M. Tissot to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.*

*Thérapia, le 23 Septembre, 1880.*

JE viens de recevoir la réponse d'Assim Pacha à notre note collective du 15.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères exprime tout d'abord le regret que notre communication ne mentionne point les assurances que le Gouvernement Impérial s'est cru en devoir de demander relativement à l'abandon entier de tout projet de démonstration navale, assurances dont la prompte obtention lui paraît indispensable. Faisant ensuite allusion aux difficultés qui paralysent la bonne volonté de la Porte et aux dangers que la pression des Puissances est de nature à créer, la note Turque déclare que le Gouverne-

ment Impérial, pour mettre un terme à un pareil état de choses par un dernier et unique moyen catégorique, se voit dans l'obligation de subordonner l'évacuation de Dulcigno à l'obtention d'assurances formelles et officielles relativement aux trois conditions suivantes :

1. Abandon par les Puissances de tout projet de démonstration navale pour n'importe quelle question aussi bien dans le présent que dans l'avenir.

2. Garantie des biens, de la vie, de l'honneur, de tous les droits de ceux des habitants qui désireraient émigrer ainsi que des biens, de la vie, de l'honneur, et surtout de la religion et des autres droits de ceux qui ne voudraient pas quitter leurs foyers.

3. Acceptation de la part des Puissances des bases du *statu quo* proposé par la Porte, et abandon de toute idée de faire désormais aucune autre demande, quelle qu'en soit la dénomination par rapport au Monténégro.

Le Gouvernement Impérial, ajoute la note, ne pourra se résoudre au sacrifice de l'évacuation de Dulcigno tant qu'il n'aura pas obtenu des assurances formelles relativement aux conditions sus-énoncées et se trouverait, si les Puissances écartaient ses demandes ou s'abstenaient d'y répondre, dans l'impossibilité d'ordonner l'évacuation de Dulcigno par les autorités locales. Enfin, dans le cas où les Puissances persisteraient à exercer une pression matérielle sur le Gouvernement Ottoman, la Porte rejeterait sur elles la responsabilité des complications qui pourraient en résulter et dénoncerait au monde entier les procédés pénibles dont elle aurait été l'objet.

(Signé) TISSOT.

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No. 493.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 25.)*

(Confidential.)

*Admiralty, September 24, 1880.*

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the draft of a letter which it is proposed to send to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, in reply to his despatch of the 16th instant, copy of which was sent to you on the 20th instant.

My Lords will be glad to learn, as soon as convenient, whether Earl Granville concurs in the terms of the proposed letter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 493.

*Draft of proposed Letter to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

*Admiralty, September 24, 1880.*

Sir,

I HAVE laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 16th instant, summarizing the events which have taken place since the 4th instant in connection with the proposed cession of the Dulcigno district by the Porte to Montenegro.

2. Their Lordships desire me to express their approval of the good judgment shown by you in all these proceedings.

3. You have already been informed by telegraph that no instructions differing from yours have been given to the Consul-General, Mr. Kirby Green.

I am, &c.

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No. 494.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 25.)*

*Admiralty, September 25, 1880.*

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 24th instant, from Cattaro. Portions of the telegram are not intelligible.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.



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Inclosure in No. 494.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Cattaro, September 24, 1880.*

1. AT Conference of Admirals on Wednesday, French Admiral stated his instructions forbade him to fire under any circumstances, but that he would give his moral support by being present if, as is almost certain, the necessity for ships supporting the Montenegrins by their fire should arise.

2. I especially pointed out to Prince of Montenegro the danger he incurs by attacking the Albanians and Turks combined.

3. He (?) affected confidence (?).

4. May I send an officer and two men to Montenegrin camp before engagement, to signal to ships Montenegrin advance and proceedings?

5. Nothing received from Ambassador at Constantinople.

6. Your telegram 24th instant received.

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No. 495.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 25.)*

(Secret and Confidential.)

*Admiralty, September 25, 1880.*

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated 25th September, at Ragusa, 2·25 P.M.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 495.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, September 25, 1880, 2·25 P.M.*

NO. 29 received. Under no circumstances will shot be fired except into positions held by the Albanians, assisted probably by the Turkish regulars, on the heights of Mazura and above Dulcigno; every care shall be taken to avoid even a possibility of injuring the town.

Ambassador at Constantinople telegraphs I may confidentially inform you that nothing is occurring which would make delay advisable. Porte refuses to surrender Dulcigno except on conditions which the Powers cannot accept.

Under these circumstances I act in four days. "Helicon" leaves to reconnoitre to-night after conference has been held.

I have Montenegrin Representative with me, who will deliver official demand to Prince to occupy district; all else arranged.

Unless Pasha alters decision, proceedings must involve collision with the Turkish army; am prepared to assume the responsibility in accordance with the instructions; the only thing I fear is Montenegrin concession; Prince and his General most confident, and anxious for no more delay.

Telegram will follow.

No. 496.

*Assym Pasha to Musurus Bey.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September 25.)*

*Constantinople, le 22 Septembre,* 1880.

JE viens d'adresser aux Représentants des six Puissances à Constantinople la note responsive suivante:—

"Le Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que leurs Excellences MM. les Ambassadeurs d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande-Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie ont bien voulu lui adresser en date du 15 Septembre, et par laquelle ils lui déclarent que si la Sublime Porte adhère à la cession immédiate de Dulcigno au Gouvernement Monténégrin, les Puissances Signataires en prendront acte avec satisfaction et qu'en ce qui concerne le *statu quo*, elles consentent seulement à ce que le territoire de Dinoch qui en fait partie reste à la Turquie.

"Le Soussigné se permet de faire remarquer ici que ce qui a attiré le plus son attention c'est que la note précitée ne mentionne point les assurances que le Gouvernement Impérial s'est cru en droit de demander relativement à l'abandon entier de tout projet de démonstration navale. Ces assurances, dont la prompte obtention lui paraît indispensable, la Sublime Porte les a explicitement exposées dans sa note du 15 Septembre, et le Soussigné, d'ordre de son Gouvernement, croit devoir les réitérer ci-après.

"Leurs Excellences n'ignorent pas qu'aux termes du Traité de Berlin concernant la question Monténégrine une partie du territoire de Goussigné et de Plava devait être cédé au Monténégro. Dès le début de la question la Sublime Porte avait adhéré en principe à cette cession et au moment où elle allait s'effectuer, les retards apportés par le Gouvernement Monténégrin, aussi bien que les mesures peu efficaces qu'il avait prises, donnèrent naissance à de graves difficultés et complications qui furent constatées par les Puissances elles-mêmes. Aussi le Gouvernement Italien, en vue d'arriver à la solution de l'affaire, crut-il opportun de proposer à cette époque à la Sublime Porte, par l'entremise de son Représentant, son Excellence le Comte Corti, de conclure une Convention qui, sur le désir des Puissances et dans le but surtout de sauvegarder la tranquillité de l'Orient, fut accepté par le Gouvernement Impérial.

"Plus tard, cette décision ayant rencontré à son tour une foule d'obstacles et de complications, sa mise à exécution fut reconnue impossible, et l'on proposa la cession au Monténégro des territoires de Hotti, de Grouda, et de Clementi, et dans le cas contraire, de compenser cette cession par celle de Dulcigno. Le Gouvernement Impérial désirant toujours vivement le maintien de la paix en Orient et l'abandon, une fois pour toutes, du projet de la démonstration navale, accepta cette dernière proposition.

"Mais cette fois encore une grande effervescence s'est produite dans cette partie de l'Albanie au sein de la population locale elle-même; des difficultés de plus d'un genre impossibles à prévenir en ont résulté pour le Gouvernement. De leur côté, les Puissances Européennes, n'ayant nullement pris en considération la situation pénible de l'Empire, se sont arrêtées à une démonstration navale en persistant dans une voie qui, de toute part, a créé pour la Sublime Porte une position plus grave encore.

"En conséquence le Gouvernement Impérial, pour mettre un terme à un pareil état de choses par un dernier et unique moyen catégorique, se vit dans l'obligation de subordonner l'évacuation de Dulcigno à l'obtention des Cabinets Signataires d'assurances formelles et officielles relativement aux trois conditions suivantes:

"1. Abandon par les Puissances de tout projet de démonstration navale pour n'importe quelle question aussi bien dans le présent que dans l'avenir.

"2. Garantie des biens, de la vie, de l'honneur, de tous les droits enfin de ceux des habitants qui désireraient émigrer, ainsi que des biens, de la vie, de l'honneur et surtout de la religion et des autres droits de ceux qui ne voudraient pas quitter leurs foyers.

"3. Acceptation de la part des Puissances des bases du *statu quo* proposé par la Sublime Porte et abandon de toute idée de faire désormais aucune autre demande quelle qu'en soit la dénomination par rapport au Monténégro.

"Par ce qui précède le Gouvernement Impérial déclare donc, à regret, qu'il ne pourra se résoudre au sacrifice pénible de l'évacuation de Dulcigno tant qu'il n'aura pas obtenu des assurances formelles relativement aux conditions sus-énoncées.



"Si les Puissances ne jugeaient pas opportun d'accepter ces demandes raisonnables de la Sublime Porte en les passant sous silence, ou si elles croyaient devoir les rejeter tout en continuant à exercer la pression sur le Gouvernement Ottoman et en procédant à la démonstration navale, le Soussigné a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de leurs Excellences que son Gouvernement se trouverait dans l'impossibilité d'ordonner l'évacuation de Dulcigno aux autorités locales.

"En admettant que la démonstration navale se fasse quand même dans le cas qui précède, du moment que le Gouvernement Impérial, placé déjà en face de grands sacrifices préjudiciables à ses avantages personnels, devra pourtant y souscrire, uniquement dans l'intérêt de la paix; du moment aussi qu'il sera résolu à les faire d'après des exemples précédents, en cas bien entendu où les conditions précitées seraient garanties, et qu'il s'empressera de faire évacuer le territoire en question d'une manière légitime et équitable, dès lors il serait difficile de voir aucun motif légal et valable pour justifier le rejet de cette dernière proposition de la Sublime Porte. Il est évident que si l'on persistait à exercer de la pression, ce ne serait naturellement pas au Gouvernement Impérial que devra incomber la responsabilité des complications qui en résulteraient à l'avenir. En outre, comme le Gouvernement Ottoman aura dans une pareille occurrence trouvé sa justification aux yeux de tous, il a en conséquence pris la décision d'annoncer dans ce cas au monde entier les procédés pénibles dont il aura été l'objet.

"Le Soussigné termine en déclarant encore une fois que si les Puissances, dans leur désir de voir l'Empire se sauver des graves embarras qui l'entourent, voulaient bien adhérer aux assurances qui font l'objet de la présente note responsive, le Gouvernement Ottoman est prêt, comme il a été dit plus haut, à faire évacuer Dulcigno et à entrer immédiatement en négociations pour cet objet avec le Gouvernement Monténégrin. Dans tous les cas, il fait appel aux sentiments d'amitié et de justice des Puissances, et il leur sera redevable du bon accueil qu'elles voudront bien faire, il en a le ferme espoir, à ses demandes qui précèdent.

"Le Soussigné saisit, &c."

Je vous prie de déployer vos efforts et votre tact bien connu pour donner au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères les développements voulus en faveur des demandes si justes et si modérées que ma note en question formule, et faire en sorte que son Excellence soit pénétrée de la gravité de la situation que la démonstration navale nous a créée et des complications encore plus grandes qui en résulteraient immédiatement pour la paix en Orient en cas où l'on donnerait suite à cette démonstration et que l'on continuerait à exercer la pression sur nous.

Nous sommes fermement convaincus que le Gouvernment près duquel vous êtes accrédité, appréciant les raisons énoncées dans la note en question voudra bien, dans ses sentiments d'équité et de haute sollicitude pour les intérêts bien entendu de l'Orient, accueillir favorablement les trois demandes de la Sublime Porte en donnant pour cet objet les assurances voulues, et écarter une fois pour toutes tout projet de démonstration navale qui n'aurait plus sa raison d'être devant les déclarations si franches et si loyales du Gouvernement Impérial.

J'attends avec impatience le résultat de vos démarches réitérées à cet égard.

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No. 497.

*Assym Pasha to Musurus Bey.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Bey, September 25.)*

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 23 Septembre,* 1880.

PAR sa dépêche Circulaire du 19 Août dernier, mon prédécesseur vous avait prié de faire les démarches nécessaires auprès de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères en vue de l'amener à faire parvenir d'urgence au Gouvernement Serbe des représentations tendant à la révocation de la nouvelle loi sur le réglement des questions dans les territoires annexés à la Principauté.

Il résulte cependant d'un récent Rapport de notre Ministre à Belgrade que, malgré cette démarche, ses collègues des Grandes Puissances n'ont encore reçu aucune instruction. En attendant, le Gouvernement Serbe semble décidé à appliquer la loi dont il s'agit à toutes les propriétés appartenant aux émigrés, en dépit des énergiques et incessantes protestations de Sermed Effendi.

Les injustices et les inconvénients qui résulteraient de cette application ont été

amplement développés dans la Circulaire sus-mentionnée de mon Département. Ainsi que vous avez pu le constater vous-même par la lecture de ce document, il ne s'agirait de rien moins que de la spoliation des propriétaires Musulmans.

Confiant dans les sentiments de justice des Puissances, je vous prie de renvoyer vos démarches à ce sujet auprès du Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité et le prier de vouloir bien inviter son Représentant à Belgrade à appuyer notre Ministre dans les efforts qu'il déploie en vue de la révocation de la loi en question.

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No. 498.

*Memorandum by M. Contostavlos.—(Communicated to Earl Granville, September 25.)*

D'APRÈS les rapports de nos Consuls en Epire et en Thessalie, les habitants Chrétiens de ces provinces sont constamment exposés aux plus grands périls de leur vie et aux plus grandes avanies de leurs biens. Ces maux, communs à tous les districts, ont atteint leur point culminant dans ceux de Khassia, d'Olympe, et d'Ajya, en Thessalie; et de Zagori et de Grevena, en Epire, où il y a eu des villages tout entiers dont les habitants se sont vus forcés d'abandonner leurs foyers et de chercher un refuge dans les montagnes. Tous ces excès sont commis par de fanatiques brutals, mais sous les yeux et au su des autorités civiles et militaires du pays, et souvent par ces autorités elles-mêmes, dans le but manifeste, d'une part, d'intimider les habitants, et de réprimer ainsi par la peur leurs aspirations à l'annexion de leur pays à la Grèce; et d'autre part, de satisfaire leur haine contre des habitants marquants de ces provinces pour leur conduite passée et présente relativement à cette même annexion. Entre ces derniers on distingue surtout Basile Papadopoulos ou Sakellarides, pharmacien, et Tchakmakas, propriétaire, qui ont été expulsés de Janina, sous une escorte de cavaliers Circassiens, et dont le sort reste depuis lors inconnu. Ayant ordre de mon Gouvernement de recommander ces malheureux à la bienveillante sollicitude de son Excellence Lord Granville, et aussi d'attirer sa précieuse attention sur cet état des choses en général, je me permets en même temps de faire ressortir l'urgence des démarches nécessaires auprès de la Porte, de la part du Gouvernement Anglais, qui ne saurait permettre que les Chrétiens des contrées dont il s'agit soient exposés aux périls et aux souffrances mentionnés pendant que le sort de leur pays reste en suspens par la seule inexécution de la décision des Grandes Puissances qui a été prise à Berlin.

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No. 499.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 1 A.M.)*

(No. 185.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 24, 1880, 9·50 P.M.*

COUNT MAFFEI informed Turkish Minister, in reply to Turkish Circular of yesterday (*sic*), that he was of opinion that the time was now past for the Porte to endeavour to gain time by similar communications, and that the only answer the Italian Government could give to such a proposal was that Count Corti and the Italian Admiral had orders to act in complete accord with Her Majesty's Government and with Admiral Seymour.

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No. 500.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 4·20 A.M.)*

(No. 177.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 24, 1880, 11 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegrams Nos. 600 of the 8th, and 709, M. Jomini thinks that the omission to send instructions to Russian Ambassador to agree to the communication to the Porte of the self-denying Protocol must have been purely accidental.

He is evidently not kept well informed of what goes on at Livadia.

He considers present crisis very serious, and says that M. Novikoff now anticipates the Turks will hold out to the last, in which case fleet may force surrender of Dulcigno,



but M. Jomini fears an attack by Albanians on Montenegro out of cannot-shot from the vessels.

He fears, moreover, that to the first shot fired at Dulcigno will come echoes from other and unexpected corners of the Turkish Empire.

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No. 501.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 3·8 A.M.)*

(No. 178.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 25, 1880, 12·18 A.M.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 459, M. Jomini has heard from Livadia that your Lordship's proposal respecting the application of the Statute elaborated by the Eastern Roumelian Commission is agreed to, and Russian Ambassador at Constantinople has been instructed to concert necessary steps with his colleagues.

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No. 502.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 11 P.M.)*

(No. 179.)
(Telegraphic.) *St Petersburgh, September 25, 1880, 7 P.M.*

YOUR telegrams Nos. 706 and 711.

M. Jomini tells me Turkish Ambassador communicated to him to-day answer of Porte. Russian Government had already received it through M. de Novikoff. M. Jomini told Turkish Ambassador he would forward his communication to Livadia, but he could hold out no hope of it being well received. Russia could not agree to abandon present demonstration unless demands of Powers were fully complied with, and would make no promise as to future ones. He told Turkish Ambassador that, as regards Montenegro, if Porte has will to give up Dulcigno, but has not power to force Albanians, she ought to be grateful to the naval demonstration, which only strengthens hands of Turkish Commander. If she has the power, but not the will, the demonstration is a hint that it would be wiser of the Porte to obey the summons of Europe; whereas if the Porte has neither the will nor the power, Turkey cannot be surprised at Europe carrying out her decisions, which Sultan is unable to do.

The apparent certainty of a conflict at Dulcigno, or more likely still further inland, seems not to be viewed with regret here, and M. Jomini has more than once asked: "What is to be next step?"

I have declined to admit possibility of Turkey not, at last moment, accepting decision of united Europe, and said that premature discussions on the contrary hypothesis might endanger united action of Powers, on which all now depends.

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No. 503.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 11 P.M.)*

(No. 180.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 25, 1880, 7 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 713.

German Chargé d'Affaires informed M. Jomini to-day that Sultan had made a personal appeal to the Emperor of Germany for his good offices, and that Emperor had declined, explaining that he could not now separate himself from the other Powers with whom he was acting.

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No. 504.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 4·10 A.M.)*

(No. 9.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cattaro, September 25, 1880, 12·3 A.M.*

THE answer of the Scutari authorities to the three days' summons to give up Dulcigno has been received by the Admiral. It is a refusal to hand over the district, as no orders have been received from the Porte to do so.

All necessary arrangements have been made with the Prince of Montenegro, who has given, both verbally and in writing, a distinct statement that he is ready to occupy position of Dulcigno by force, even if the Turkish troops oppose him, a contingency far from improbable, as Riza Pasha has stated in writing that he will consider any attempt to occupy Dulcigno as an act of hostility against Turkey, and verbally that he will use the troops to oppose it.

The Admiral intends, on arriving at Ragusa to-morrow, to act under his instructions, the movement of the fleet probably taking place early in the week.

Admiral asks that this be communicated to the Admiralty.

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No. 505.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 6·30 P.M.)*

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 25, 1880, 3·37 P.M.*

I HAVE to report my return to the flagship here. The formal invitation to the Prince to take forcible possession of the Dulcigno district is given to-day. The fleets are to appear off Dulcigno on Tuesday morning, weather permitting, and the advance will be probably made by the Montenegrins Wednesday, the 29th instant. Information just received from Montenegrin sources says that Riza Pasha is sending out urgent summons to the Mirdites and other Albanians to defend the Dulcigno district. The Montenegrins appear very confident of success, but the Turkish troops are in unusually good condition.

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No. 506.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 2 P.M.)*

(No. 100.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September 25, 1880.*

GERMAN Chargé d'Affaires has been instructed to communicate to your Lordship the Sultan's telegram to the German Emperor asking His Majesty to give his support to the three conditions respecting the surrender of Dulcigno.

The Emperor's reply is dated yesterday, and declines in courteous but firm language to entertain the Sultan's request, or to separate the action of Germany from that of the other Powers.

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No. 507.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 25, 3·50 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, September 25, 1880, 11·30 A.M.*

ARRIVED here this morning, having already joined the Admiral at Cattaro.

Before leaving Scutari I saw some of the most influential Mussulmans, who told me that they would resist only as long as the Porte did not oppose their doing so.

In passing Dulcigno the day before yesterday I saw that the place was still garrisoned by Turkish troops.

(Repeated to Therapia.)

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No. 508.

*Earl Granville to Lord Odo Russell.*

(No. 619. Very Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 25, 1880.*

I TELEGRAPHED to you to-day the substance of the Sultan's telegram of the 22nd instant to the Emperor of Germany, asking His Majesty to obtain the adhesion of the Great Powers to the three conditions on which His Majesty the Sultan is willing to consent to the evacuation of Dulcigno, and of the Emperor's reply declining to entertain the Sultan's request, which were communicated to me confidentially by the German Ambassador, and copies of which were subsequently received with your Excellency's despatch No. 441, marked Very Confidential, of this day's date.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 509.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 627. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 25, 1880.*

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language you held to Réouf Pasha, late Governor-General of Adrianople, as reported in your despatch No. 566, Confidential, of the 16th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 510.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1297 A.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 25, 1880.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 896 of yesterday's date reporting that the French Government had abstained from answering the last Circular of the Porte respecting the cession of Dulcigno, and had declared to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires their intention not to separate themselves from the other Powers on this question; and I have to request that you will take an opportunity of expressing the satisfaction felt by Her Majesty's Government at the declaration of the intentions of the French Government in this respect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 511.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 25, 1880.*

I HAVE laid before Earl Granville Sir Beauchamp Seymour's telegram of the 22nd instant, of which a copy was inclosed in your letter of the 23rd, stating his plans in the event of Riza Pasha's answer being unsatisfactory; and I am directed by his Lordship to request you to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that he is of opinion that the course which Sir B. Seymour proposed to take should be approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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No. 512.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 25, 1880.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that he concurs in the terms of the letter which they propose to address to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour, and of which a draft was inclosed in your letter of yesterday, approving his proceedings as reported in his letter of the 16th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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No. 513.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.—(Communicated by the Admiralty, September 26.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 26, 1880, 10 A.M.

AT midnight received telegram from Prince of Montenegro indicating change having taken place in his views. "Falcon" left for Cattaro to convey Envoy at his request two hours afterwards.

Expect him to-night.

This is important.

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No. 514.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 587.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 26, 1880, 12·30 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government quite concur in the views expressed in your telegram No. 254 of the 24th instant.

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No. 515.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 26, 1 P.M.)

(No. 11.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September* 26, 1880, 9·40 A.M.

A TELEGRAM has been just received from the Prince of Montenegro which says that, in consequence of events which have transpired since Admiral's visit to him, it is absolutely necessary to have a fresh understanding, and he therefore sends his Minister for Foreign Affairs, who arrives here to-day.

It appears that the Prince has heard of extent of preparations to resist and even to attack him, and it may be that he repents of the resolution he so emphatically announced to us last Friday.

Her Majesty's ship "Helicon," with a party of officers of all the Powers, has gone down the coast to give them the opportunity to reconnoitre the position.

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No. 516.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 26, 2·30 P.M.)

(No. 258.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 26, 1880, 10 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 578.

Since receipt of last Turkish note delivered on Thursday morning, no Ambassadors have suggested further steps as likely to lead to a practicable arrangement. We consider that the Sultan has taken a final step, and that further representations or negotiations would be futile. Austrian Ambassador received instructions even yesterday to consult and act with his colleagues for further efforts to induce the Porte to



surrender Dulcigno. I have given my opinion that any more such efforts would do harm, not good.

None of my colleagues have instructions as to any answer, collective or identic, to last note. Your telegram No. 576* gives me instructions entirely in accord with the language most of us have personally held; but should not a collective or identic answer in that sense be put on record? Prime Minister, who paid official return visits to Ambassadors the day before yesterday, stated to several that Porte was expecting an answer. I deferred telegraphing to ask you if I could ascertain from my colleagues whether they could give in an answer at once, but I find they cannot.

Nothing of any interest fell from Prime Minister day before yesterday.

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No. 517.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 517A. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 26, 1880.

HER Majesty's Government entirely concur in the view expressed in your Excellency's telegram No. 254 of the 24th instant that no further appeal for negotiations on the Montenegrin frontier-line would be entertained, and that any demand from the Porte to the Powers to renounce all intention of any other naval demonstration would, as far as Her Majesty's Government is concerned, be rejected.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 518.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 27.)

(No. 437. Extender.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September* 20, 1880.

I COMMUNICATED the substance of your Lordship's instruction No. 549 of the 19th instant to Mr. Goschen in a private note last night to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to-day when I called at the Foreign Office his Excellency informed me that instructions similar to those of Mr. Goschen had already been sent to Count Hatzfeldt, as suggested by your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 519.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 27.)

(No. 441. Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September* 25, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith confidentially to your Lordship copies of the Sultan's telegram of the 22nd instant to the German Emperor, asking His Majesty to obtain the adhesion of the Powers to the three conditions on which His Majesty the Sultan is willing to consent to the evacuation of Dulcigno, and of the German Emperor's reply of yesterday's date, respectfully declining to entertain the Sultan's request, or to separate the action of Germany from that of the European Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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* See No. 462.

Inclosure 1 in No. 519.

*His Majesty the Sultan to the Emperor of Germany.*

(Télégraphique.) *Péra, le 22 Septembre*, 1880, 8·35 *soir*.

VOTRE Majesté Impériale connaît les diverses phases successives que la question de Monténégro a subies jusqu'à ce jour et toutes les conséquences douloureuses qu'ont créé pour mon Empire une situation si pénible et si compliquée. D'un côté le désir ardent d'un peuple fidèle qui ne veut pas se séparer de l'autorité souveraine sous l'égide de laquelle il vit depuis des siècles, et de l'autre la présence des flottes des Puissances amies, qui se sont réunies pour obtenir certain territoire dévolu au Monténégro en vertu des Conventions, les manœuvres enfin et les instigations d'une foule de malveillants qui cherchent à profiter de la position moralement et matériellement difficile de mon Gouvernement ou qui veulent dès à présent assurer pour l'avenir la réalisation de leurs intentions, et en présence de tout ceci la nécessité de résoudre au plus tôt la question, sont réellement de nature à provoquer le chagrin et la douleur, tant que durera cet état de choses. La question se trouvera à son tour de plus en plus éloignée de la voie par laquelle elle pourrait se résoudre sans donner lieu à des conséquences fâcheuses les hommes consciencieux et patriotes conservant encore le souvenir douloureux d'un exemple tragique de ces mêmes conséquences en face d'une situation aussi triste. Je fais appel aux sentiments de justice de votre Majesté en lui demandant son concours efficace et son intervention bienveillant pour la solution de cette question d'une manière équitable et amicale, et je lui déclare formellement que je ferai procéder immédiatement à l'évacuation de Dulcigno sous les conditions légitimes suivantes: (1) abandon définitif de la part des Puissances de tous projets de démonstration pour n'importe quelle question, aussi bien dans le présent que dans l'avenir; (2) garantie des biens, de la vie, de l'honneur, de tous les droits enfin des habitants qui désireraient émigrer, ainsi que des biens, de la vie, de l'honneur, et surtout de la religion et des autres droits de ceux de ces mêmes habitants qui ne voudraient pas émigrer; (3) acceptation par les Puissances des bases de *statu quo* proposées par mon Gouvernement et abandon désormais de toutes idées de faire aucune demande sous quelque dénomination que ce soit par rapport au Monténégro. Je prie donc votre Majesté Impériale de vouloir bien ordonner à Son Altesse le Prince de Bismarck de s'adresser aux Cabinets Européens pour obtenir leur adhésion aux conditions mentionnées ci-dessus. Les sentiments de justice qui animent à un si haut degré votre Majeste et le mérite éclatant du Prince Chancelier contribueront très-puissamment, j'en ai la conviction, à écarter les difficultés qui accablent depuis si longtemps mon Gouvernement, et surtout la démonstration, à préserver la population de tout préjudice, à bannir une fois pour toutes des pressions de ce genre, en échéant de la sorte la reproduction de toutes ces difficultés. J'ai en conséquence recours à votre Majesté Impériale pour cet objet, et je suis persuadé d'avance qu'elle voudra bien, comme preuve de son affectueuse amitié sur laquelle je me repose dès à présent avec mon entière confiance, ne point épargner ses nobles efforts dans ce but.

(Signé) ABDUL HAMID.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 519.

*The Emperor of Germany to His Majesty the Sultan.*

(Télégraphique.) *Berlin, le 24 Septembre*, 1880.

J'AI reçu le télégramme de votre Majesté Impériale du 22 courant, et j'apprécie pleinement les difficultés dont elle m'a fait l'exposé.

J'ai apporté à l'examen de ces graves questions la sympathie qui répond naturellement à la confiance de votre Majesté; mais j'ai été arrêté par la conviction que l'Allemagne ne saurait, sans compromettre la paix, se séparer des autres Puissances. De plus, je ne pourrais, sans manquer aux engagements que j'ai contractés, suivre une ligne qui impliquerait l'abandon du Traité de Berlin. Je suis prêt à appuyer toute solution qui serait de nature à réunir les suffrages de toutes les Puissances, mais malgré mon vif désir d'aider votre Majesté, il m'est impossible de prendre l'initiative de propositions tendant à introduire des modifications du dit Traité. Une pareille attitude équivaudrait par ses effets à la résolution du pacte, et serait incompatible avec la sainteté de la parole Royale et des Conventions Internationales.

Enfin, je craindrais de blesser les sentiments des autres Cabinets, en présentant au



nom de l'Allemagne une demande entièrement nouvelle et aussi importante que le serait l'engagement d'abandonner tout projet de démonstration pour n'importe quelle question que ce soit.

(Signé) GUILLAUME.

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No. 520.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)*

(No. 442.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September 25*, 1880.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions No. 598 of the 15th instant, I have communicated to Count Limburg Stirum the substance of the despatch from He Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, inclosed therein, respecting the steps to be taken to obtain the promulgation of the project of law which has been elaborated by the East Roumelian Commission, and his Excellency, in reply, said that Count Hatzfeldt should be instructed to consider the question in concert with his colleagues.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

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No. 521.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)*

(No. 409. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 20*, 1880.

BARON DE JOMINI is kept so little informed of the latest moves at Livadia that, for fear of causing confusion, I avoid discussing with him what is doing in the East, except to carry out any instructions which I may receive.

There are, however, three remarks which he has repeated to me so often, that I feel it my duty to report them to your Lordship.

Baron Jomini considers that the fear entertained of a possibility of Turkish garrison reoccupying the Balkans is one of the main causes of the continued fermentation amongst the Bulgarian and Eastern Roumelian populations.

He considers that if it has been so difficult to arrange about the Montenegrin frontier, where it is a question of only a small piece of territory, and where Russia and Austria are interested in the early closing of the discussions, it will be hopeless to expect a solution of the more complicated question of the Greek frontier, where important local interests are at stake, and in which no Power now, except perhaps England, will take much interest. Russia will not trouble herself about the Greeks as she has done for the Montenegrins.

Moreover, for Epirus and Thessaly he believes the Mussulmans will fight; whereas, in his opinion, the difficulties about the Montenegrin frontier are only to intimidate, and to endeavour to produce dissensions among the Powers.

And, thirdly, he considers that too many things at a time are being forced upon the Sultan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 522.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)*

(No. 411.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 22*, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of the note which, on the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 456 of the 13th instant, I addressed to Baron Jomini, calling his attention to the action of M. Novikoff in preventing the Russian Commissioner from signing the Declaration in favour of the recommendation of Baron Kosjek and M. Aubaret with regard to Albania.

Baron Jomini has forwarded my note to Livadia. Russia, he says, considers that the Commissioners ought not to have gone beyond the limits laid down by the Treaty of

Berlin, which made no reference to an Albanian question, but he will await M. de Giers' instructions before giving a definite reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure in No. 522.

*Mr. Plunkett to Baron de Jomini.*

M. le Baron, *St. Petersburgh, September* $\frac{21}{9}$, 1880.

YOUR Excellency is aware that, at the last meeting of the Eastern Roumelian Organization Commission, the British, German, Austrian, French, and Italian Commissioners handed in a joint Declaration respecting Albania, accepting the memorandum relating to the Sandjak of Scutari which had been prepared by Baron de Kosjek and M. Aubaret. It had been hoped that this Declaration would have been unanimous, for the Imperial Russian Commissioner, in the course of the day before, had said to Lord E. Fitzmaurice that he would accept it under special instructions which he had only just received from St. Petersburgh, on condition that at the same time he made a reservation as to the statistics in that memorandum. The English Commissioner then informed M. Hitrovo that he also intended to make this reservation, and it was then agreed between them that M. Hitrovo should sign both the Declaration and the reservations. Later in the same evening, however, M. Hitrovo informed Lord E. Fitzmaurice that M. Novikoff objected strongly to this course, and the recommendations of Baron de Kosjek and M. Aubaret accordingly were signed by the other Commissioners without the participation of their Russian colleague.

In compliance with instructions received from Earl Granville, I have the honour to call your Excellency's attention to the action of M. de Novikoff in this matter, and I am to urge upon the Imperial Government the expediency of the Declaration in question receiving their support, subject to the reservations previously agreed upon between the British and Russian Commissioners.

In this manner the complete harmony which had so far happily existed among the Commissioners would be maintained up to the close of their deliberations, and the effect on the Porte of their suggestions would be all the more efficacious.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 523.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)*

(No. 412.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 22*, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of the note which, on the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 459 of the 15th instant, I addressed to Baron Jomini, requesting that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople should be authorized to discuss with his colleagues the course that should be pursued in order to induce the Porte to put in force the Project of Law elaborated by the Eastern Roumelian Commission.

Baron de Jomini told me this afternoon that he has forwarded my note to Livadia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure in No. 523.

*Mr. Plunkett to Baron de Jomini.*

M. le Baron, *St. Petersburgh, September 20*, 1880.

THE Eastern Roumelian Commission has, as your Excellency is aware, completed the elaboration of the new Organic Statute for European Turkey, and has thus for the present brought its labours to a close.

Her Majesty's Government are now anxious that steps should be taking for promulgating the Project of Law, and I am instructed by Lord Granville to request of the Imperial Government that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople may be authorized to discuss with his colleagues the course that should be pursued to prevail upon the Porte to put the new Statute into force.



The British Representative on the Eastern Roumelian Commission fears that the Porte may attempt, by delays and subterfuges, to evade the vital portions of the new law, and urges that the Powers should insist upon its being promulgated in its present shape without allowing themselves to be drawn into a controversy respecting the details.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople is of opinion that, looking to the numerous points of first-rate importance "reserved" by the Turkish members of the Commission, nothing but the greatest firmness on the part of the Powers will offer any hope of the Statute being carried out by the Porte as proposed, and his Excellency states that the remarkable unanimity which has prevailed among the various members has established the strongest claim on the part of the Commission to the support of the Powers.

With regard to the financial question, as much elasticity would appear to have been given to the settlement as was compatible with fixing any proportion between the amount to be retained for the use of the provinces to the amount to be remitted for Imperial purposes, and the necessity for a financial inquiry, which was beyond the competency of the Commission, and which, if attempted, would have delayed the completion of the work with which it was charged, has thus been avoided.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 524.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27.)*

(No. 413.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 22*, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of the note which, on the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 460 of the 17th instant, I addressed to Baron de Jomini, calling his Excellency's attention to the part which seems to have been taken by the Russian Military Attaché at Philippopoli in promoting the engagement of a large number of Russian non-commissioned officers to serve in the Eastern Roumelian militia, and stating that such proceedings appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be in direct opposition to the spirit of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

I took occasion to-day to call Baron Jomini's attention again to the proceedings of Captain Eck, and to remind his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government found them little in harmony with the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin.

I found his Excellency disinclined to discuss the matter, which, he said, he must refer to Livadia, and also to the Minister of War.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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Inclosure in No. 524.

*Mr. Plunkett to Baron de Jomini.*

M. le Baron, *St. Petersburgh, September* $\frac{5}{20}$, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to state that information has reached Her Majesty's Government that a contract has been sanctioned by the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for the engagement of thirty-eight Russian sergeants to take service in the Eastern Roumelian militia, and that General Strecker has been negotiating with Captain Eck, the Russian Military Attaché at Philippopoli, for the engagement of 111 more Russian non-commissioned officers, who are to take the place of native non-commissioned officers whose period of service has expired, and who have been refused readmission in order to make way for those coming from Russia.

Her Majesty's Government have also learnt with surprise that steps are being taken, at the instigation of the Russian Military Attaché and of General Strecker, to fill high military appointments with Russian officers, to the exclusion of other foreigners.

Such proceedings appear to Her Majesty's Government to be so distinctly in opposition to the spirit of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Berlin that I have been instructed by Earl Granville to call your Excellency's attention to the part which

appears to have been taken by the Russian Military Attaché at Philippopoli in promoting such an arrangement.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

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No. 525.

*M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, September 27.)*

(Télégraphique.) *Livadia, le 14/26 Septembre*, 1880.

LE Cabinet de Vienne approuve la réponse de Calice aux quatre points dont le Sultan veut faire dépendre la remise de Dulcigno, c'est-à-dire: il admet la possibilité de garanties pour les propriétés et la religion des Musulmans, renonce à d'autres agrandissements pour le Monténégro, mais refuse le *status quo* pour la délimitation à l'est du lac, et ne consent pas à l'abandon de toute démonstration navale pour le Monténégro et la Grèce.

Nous partageons cette opinion.

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No. 526.

*M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, September 27.)*

(Télégraphique.) *Livadia, le 14/26 Septembre*, 1880.

NOUS recevons la nouvelle que Riza a donné une réponse négative à la sommation de l'Amiral Anglais et a déclaré qu'il défendra Dulcigno jusqu'à la dernière extrémité.

Il nous semble urgent que toutes les Puissances protestent unanimement à Constantinople, et rejettent sur le Gouvernement Turc toute la responsabilité des conséquences.

Veuillez nous faire connaître l'opinion du Gouvernement Anglais.

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No. 527.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27, 10·45 A.M.)*

(No. 259.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 27*, 1880, 9 A.M.

THE Ambassadors had a meeting last night.

The result is embodied in the following statement, which we all send in identic language:—

Having compared our instructions, and agreed that it was necessary to give an immediate and collective answer to the last note of the Porte, we agreed to address a note to the Foreign Minister, stating the decisions of Powers on the Turkish conditions, protesting against opposition ("les résistances") of the Ottoman Government, and throwing on it all the responsibility of the consequences.

Note will be presented this morning.

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No. 528.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27, 12·45 P.M.)*

(No. 260.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 27*, 1880, 10 A.M.

SINCE my telegram No. 258, which was written on the evening of the 25th, several of my colleagues received instructions as to views of their Governments on Turkish conditions as to answer which should be made. Most considered it very urgent that the answer should be made immediately, before some fresh phase turning up, and all thought it should be collective, so as to insure absolute identity of language. Hence telegram No. 259.

The note is entirely in accord with your Lordship's views expressed in telegram No. 576. I shall telegraph the chief passages when translation is ready. Mr. Adams might furnish French text telegraphed by French Ambassador.

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No. 529.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27, 3·30 A.M.)*

(No. 13.)
(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, September 27*, 1880, 1·5 A.M.

THE Montenegrin Agent here has handed in copy of letter purporting to have been sent by the General of the Turkish troops to the Commandant of the Montenegrin troops near Dulcigno; this letter says that any advance of the Montenegrins will be deemed an act of war [? by] Turkey.

The Prince of Montenegro has sent his Minister for Foreign Affairs, who tells me that he will officially inform the Admiral to-morrow that before the Montenegrins incur the risk of war with Turkey, the Prince desires to know how far the Powers will support Montenegro in that eventuality, apart from such support as the fleet could afford. I draw your Lordship's attention to the fact that this is a complete withdrawal from the position assumed by the Prince only two days ago.

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No. 530.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27, 2·30 P.M.)*

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 27*, 1880, 1 P.M.

RUSSIAN Chargé d'Affaires has communicated to French Government a telegram of yesterday from Livadia, stating that Russian Minister in Montenegro states that Riza Pasha has given a negative answer to the summons of the English Admiral, declaring that he will defend Dulcigno to the last.

It adds that it appears urgent that the Powers should make a unanimous protest at Constantinople, rejecting on the Porte the responsibility of all the consequences.

M. Cogrel wishes to know the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of this communication.

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No. 531.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 665.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 27*, 1880, 6·30 P.M.

ASK Austrian Government their opinion on state of affairs reported in the telegrams from Captain Sale Nos. 13 and 15, repeated to you to-day.

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No. 532.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27, 9·30 P.M.)*

(No. 14.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 27*, 1880.

THE Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs has just communicated to the Admiral a letter from the Prince of Montenegro replying to the official invitation to occupy the Dulcigno position. In this letter the Prince states his willingness to accept the invitation, and his readiness to occupy the position, even if he be opposed by Turkish troops, but goes on to say that he has received from the Turkish local authorities a warning that any advance on his part will be deemed an act of war against Turkey. He desires before committing himself to war against the whole strength of the Turkish Empire to ask what degree of support he may expect from the Powers other than that which the fleet can give him. The Prince forwards an authenticated copy of the letter from the Turkish authorities. I venture to point out to your Lordship that the case is one [group wrong; ? hardly] covered by the Admiral's instructions; the Prince has not declined the invitation, and yet he could scarcely be expected, by attacking Dulcigno, to commence a war against Turkey with no better support than the fleet could give him, which, in the opinion of [group wrong] technical officers who have reconnoitred the coast, is very small indeed.

A conference of commanding officers will be held this morning, and I will at once communicate the result to your Lordship.

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No. 533.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 27, 7 P.M.)*

(No. 15.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 27, 1880, 2·40 P.M.*

AT the conference [of the] Admirals, holden to-day, it was decided to ask for further instructions, and to wait here.

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No. 534.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 666.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 27, 1880, 7·15 P.M.*

TRY and get an early answer from Austrian Government as to course which can be agreed upon to avert risk of abandonment of Montenegro in consequence of Turkish tactics or stress of weather.

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No. 535.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 508.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 27, 1880, 7·30 P.M.*

RUSSIAN Ambassador had communicated this morning proposal as to protest casting responsibility on the Porte. He, however, considers that it has been anticipated by the collective note reported in Mr. Goschen's telegram repeated to you to-day, in which the same expression is used.

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No. 536.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 516.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 27, 1880.*

I TRANSMIT herewith to your Excellency a memorandum prepared in this Office,* which gives a summary of the information received by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the arrivals of arms and non-commissioned officers from Russia, and the progress of the Unionist Movement in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

I inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Lascelles,† directing him to remonstrate with the Bulgarian Government against the infractions of the Treaty of Berlin, involved in their possession of a war steamer on the Danube and the non-demolition of the fortresses, and to point out the dangerous results that may be produced by the influx of Russian soldiers into the Principality, and the import of arms from Russia.

I have to request your Excellency to instruct Mr. Stephen to make a similar representation to the Eastern Roumelian Government respecting the engagement of large numbers of Russians as officers and non-commissioned officers in the militia, in violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Berlin. Mr. Stephen should point out the danger which Eastern Roumelia will run of losing the privileges conferred upon her by the Treaty if she persists in the hazardous course on which she appears to have entered.

It will be for your Excellency to consider whether it will be advisable for you to make any communication to the Porte as to the representations which Her Majesty's Government are making to the Bulgarian and East Roumelian Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 537.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Lascelles.*

(No. 122.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 27, 1880.*

I TRANSMIT to you a memorandum prepared in this Office,* which gives a summary of the information received by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the arrivals of

* Memorandum, September 14.

† No. 537.



arms and non-commissioned officers from Russia, and the progress of the Unionist Movement in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

You will state to the Bulgarian Government that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with much regret that the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin in regard to the demolition of the old fortresses have not been carried out at Shumla or Rustchuk, and that at Widdin the work of demolition which had been commenced was stopped by orders from Sophia.

You will also point out that the presence on the Danube of an armed steamer belonging to the Bulgarian Government is an infraction of the LIst Article of the Treaty.

The employment of large numbers of Russian non-commissioned officers, and the continued importation of arms from Russia, cannot fail to raise grave suspicions as to the intentions of the Bulgarian Government, and you will take every opportunity of warning them of the danger they may run by taking any steps to disturb the state of affairs established in the Balkan Peninsula by the Treaty of Berlin.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 538.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.**

(No. 1298.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 27, 1880.*

I TRANSMIT herewith copies of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, forwarding a Report, drawn up by Colonel Wilson, with regard to the treatment and condition of the minor populations in the Department of Bourgas.†

I have to request you to communicate the substance of the information furnished by Colonel Wilson to the Government to which you are accredited, and sound them as to their willingness to remonstrate, jointly or singly, against the abuses described by Colonel Wilson.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 538A.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1299. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 27, 1880.*

WITH reference to your telegram of to-day, I have to inform you that the Russian Ambassador communicated this morning a proposal from his Government to the effect that, in view of Riza Pasha's refusal to surrender Dulcigno, the Powers should make a protest at Constantinople casting upon the Porte the responsibility for all the consequences which may ensue.

His Excellency, however, considers that this proposal has been anticipated by the action of the Representatives at Constantinople, who, as you will have learnt from Mr. Goschen's telegram of to-day, have already addressed a collective note to the Porte in this sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Mr. Macdonell (No. 525), Mr. Plunkett (No. 486), Lord Odo Russell (No. 620), and Sir H. Elliot (No. 629).

† Inclosure 1 in No. 306.

No. 538 B.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 630.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 27, 1880.

IN your Excellency's Confidential despatch No. 554 of the 11th instant you state that it is essential that Her Majesty's Government should be thoroughly acquainted with the views of the other Powers with whom they are acting.

Nothing can be more true, and the necessity is the more pressing when any difference of views is apprehended. An Ambassador would be unworthy of confidence if he in any way failed to represent the exact state of affairs, because the knowledge of it might be supposed to be disagreeable.

I therefore entirely approve of your having informed me of what appeared to you to be a profound difference between the view of the Austro-Hungarian and of the British Governments in regard to Turkish affairs.

I failed, however, to learn from your despatch in what respect that profound difference exists, as seen by the Austro-Hungarian Government, and apparently by your Excellency.

The three points pressed upon the Porte in the identic note of the Powers were the two questions of the Greek and Montenegrin frontiers, and the reforms in European and Asiatic Turkey.

With regard to Montenegro, the Austrian Government and that of Her Majesty have acted together in the most cordial and straightforward manner. With respect to the Greek frontier, your Excellency reports in your despatch No. 561, Confidential, of the 15th instant, that Baron Haymerle has expressed himself with remarkable energy as to the necessity of this question being carried through, and showed no disposition to draw back from the Berlin Award, which he thought might, with, perhaps, insignificant modifications, be carried through by patient negotiation.

In your despatch No. 554 of the 11th instant you state that Austria would be ready to indorse Mr. Gladstone's observation that, unless the Porte tolerably discharged its administrative duties, its integrity and independence must be left to shift for themselves.

A Government cannot pledge themselves with regard to all contingencies, but I would inquire in what speech of Mr. Gladstone or of mine, or in what despatch from this Office, is there to be found any intimation that Her Majesty's Government intend to give foreign aid to the Sultan's discontented subjects, or that it is not in their opinion desirable to maintain for the present the Ottoman Empire. It is their opinion that it is so if the Sultan can be induced to change a course which hastens a crisis, and in no way tends to preserve the existence of his Government. I am not aware of anything which has been done or said by Her Majesty's Government which can reasonably give ground for a belief that we are prepared in any way to countenance the ambitions of any Power against Turkey.

Your Excellency will take all judicious opportunities of giving a correct view of the policy of Her Majesty's Government to the Austro-Hungarian Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 539.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 632. Confidential. Extender.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 27, 1880.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to try and obtain an early answer from the Austro-Hungarian Government as to the course which can be agreed upon in order to avert risk of abandonment of Montenegro in consequence of Turkish tactics or stress of weather

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 540.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 366.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 18, 1880.*

MR. BLUNT has sent me a copy of his despatch to your Lordship, No. 96 of the 8th instant, as to the intended emigration of the Mahommedans in Kustendil and other districts in Bulgaria to Turkish territory.

It is a curious coincidence that the Bulgarian Agent here, M. Balabanow, came to inform me that the Turkish troops on the frontier between Bulgaria and Turkey were giving a great deal of trouble, and that they had attacked Bulgarian villages between Kustendil and Djauma. M. Balabanow told me that he had drawn the attention of the Porte to the subject. He added that the Bulgarian outposts had been driven from some of their stations, and that they had been occupied by Ottoman soldiers. He professed considerable alarm, but I informed him that personally I felt confident that the Ottoman Government certainly did not intend any aggressive action. The occurrences stated in Mr. Blunt's despatch apparently throw some light on M. Balabanow's communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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No. 541.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 368.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 20, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Rutschuk on the subject of visits he had made to Silistria and Eski Hambal. These despatches were seen by Mr. Vincent before his departure.

I also inclose a despatch from Mr. Dalziel respecting the proceedings at Rutschuk on the occasion of the Emperor of Russia's fête.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure in No. 541.

*Vice-Consul Dalziel to Mr. Lascelles.*

Sir, *Rustchuk, September 9, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to report, that having heard many rumours of arms, horses, &c., being landed from Russia at Silistria, I determined to go to that place to ascertain what was actually the truth.

Having arranged with my Italian colleague to accompany me, I left Rustchuk on Monday morning the 6th instant, arriving at Silistria the same afternoon. Before leaving I provided myself with reliable people there from whom to obtain information.

We called on the Prefect, and asked him if there was any objection to our visiting the fortifications. He replied that any one might go to all the fortifications except Medjidie Tabia, the principal one, where there were troops; and that, by application to the Commandant of the troops, we might also go there. I requested him to obtain permission for me. To this he objected, telling me that Silistria being in a state of siege, he was not the principal authority, but if we would consent to call on the Commandant, he would send his Secretary with us. Although I considered such a course unadvisable, still wishing to finish my visit before 9 P.M. on Tuesday, I agreed to it. Unfortunately the Commandant could not be found, so we left our cards, and the Secretary explained for what purpose we had called.

We then drove up to Arab Tabia, the fort so much disputed between Roumans and Bulgars, and which remains still in possession of Bulgaria. I found that it, as well as its outlying works, had been carefully destroyed.

On Tuesday morning I sent to the Commandant for the permission to visit Medjidie Tabia, but he being again out, and having left no message for me, I could not get it. I felt as if I was being played with, so called on the Austrian Steamboat Agent, who has a sort of recognized official position, and got him to accompany me to the Prefect in



order to impress on him that he was incurring considerable responsibility by the turn affairs had taken. Fortunately the Commandant himself arrived at the konak while we were there, and at once gave me a soldier to accompany us to the fort, at the same time telling me that it was all a mistake to suppose that there were troops in it; that as long as it was an ammunition-store there was a guard, but now that no ammunition remained it was unoccupied. In effect, we found the place unoccupied; there were, however, the remains of a recent fire and a lot of fresh melon skins, showing that some one had been there very lately.

Nothing whatever has been done to destroy this fort, according to the Treaty of Berlin, and, except that the accidental explosion of a powder-magazine destroyed that particular chamber, the place remains as it was when evacuated by Selami Pasha.

Mustafa Pasha Tabia, the third and most western fort, has been knocked about by the elements, and also by the hand of man, though by no means so carefully as Arab Tabia. It might even be conceded to be sufficiently razed if it stood alone, although it evidently will be much easier to enlarge existing ditches and parapets than to make them from the commencement, supposing that a necessity for such work was to occur.

All the other forts are merely subsidiary earthworks to these three principal ones, and a show of filling in the ditches has been made.

As to the town walls, they, like those of Rustchuk, have had the most valuable stones removed for building and paving purposes, but are otherwise untouched. The barracks in their forts are still serviceable had they a few doors and windows replaced, and the four powder-magazines and other warehouses in the town are all intact, the magazines being more or less full of ammunition.

Regarding the unostensible, but principal object of my visit, I learned that about 1,200 rifles and 4,000 or 5,000 boxes of cartridges have lately been landed from Ismaïl. No cannon nor horses, however, have been brought there.

About 2,200 infantry had arrived, mostly from Rustchuk, and were distributed as follows:—1,000 in town, 200 in immediate vicinity, 1,000 in Deli-Orman.

The Commandant is, of course, a Russian officer, and I should say, judging from the little I saw of him, of superior education and abilities to the ordinary run of those employed in this country.

Only one consignment of immigrants from Russia has arrived, consisting of about thirty families of Cossacks, with their beasts, &c., who were marched into the interior; also about fifty families of Turks have returned and gone to their villages.

Having finished visiting the forts of Silistria at a pretty early hour, we drove to the Roumanian frontier-town of New Silistria. After passing the foot of the hill on which is Arab Tabia we came to a Bulgarian picket, and a few hundred yards further on to a Roumanian one.

We could not see much of New Silistria as night fell shortly after our arrival, but the life and activity everywhere apparent contrasted strongly with the deadness of the old one.

A very large barrack is building, and there are a considerable number of troops, including artillery, in the place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. DALZIEL.

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No. 542.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 378.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 21, 1880.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I addressed a representation to the Porte in the month of June last on the subject of the alleged ill-treatment of Bulgarians by the Turkish authorities in Macedonia, which was reported to your Lordship by Mr. Michell in his despatch No. 275 of the 31st May last.

I have now received a reply from the Porte (of which a copy is inclosed herewith) absolutely denying the statements made to Mr. Michell by M. Tonjoroff.

I also inclose a copy of a Report on the subject from Colonel Wilson, to whom I had communicated the contents of M. Tonjoroff's letter previous to his recent visit to Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia, and whom I had requested to inquire into the truth of the alleged outrages.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 542.

*Note Verbale.*

*Constantinople, le 25 Août*, 1880.

DÈS la réception de la note verbale que l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique a bien voulu lui adresser le 16 Juin dernier le Ministère Impérial s'est empressé d'interpeller les autorités du Vilayet de Salonique sur la situation qui serait faite aux Bulgares en Macédoine.

Un télégramme des dites autorités, répondant à cette interpellation, dénient absolument les faits rapportés par le Ministre Protestant Bulgare de Philippopoli. Aucun Notable Bulgare, qu'on sache, n'a été arrêté par les Bachi-Bouzouks ni assujetti à de mauvais traitements. La Ville de Nevrokop a été, il est vrai, déclaré en état de siège; mais la seule proclamation affichée qui y a trait n'offre rien d'insolite; elle réunit toutes les conditions de légalité et toutes les formalités d'usage requises.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 542.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson to Mr. Goschen.*

*Therapia, September 16*, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, a memorandum on M. Tonjoroff's letter of the 31st May, 1880, to Mr. Michell, Her Majesty's Consul-General in Eastern Roumelia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 542.

*Memorandum on M. Tonjoroff's Letter of the 31st May*, 1880, *to Mr. Michell, Her Majesty's Consul-General in Eastern Roumelia.*

THE acts of violence alluded to by Mr. Tonjoroff are reported to have taken place in the Caza of Nevrokop. I was provided with a copy of his letter, and made a special point of inquiring into the truth of its contents when visiting that caza. I find that, though some of the outrages had really been committed, there was much exaggeration in the statements made by M. Tonjoroff, and that the Moslems had almost as much cause of complaint as the Christians.

The crimes and outrages are as follows:—

1. The murder and decapitation of four Bulgarians of Godlevo whilst returning from work.

According to a Bulgarian petition presented to me four Bulgarian packers (muleteers) were attacked by five Moslem refugees on their way from Godlevo to Drama, in Southern Macedonia, and three of their number killed. The murders were evidently committed for the sake of robbery. No mention was made in the petition of decapitation, nor did any one appear to have heard of it. Four of the murderers were taken, of whom three were allowed to escape, and one remained in prison at the time of my visit.

2. The Turkish soldiers at Dobrinishta ill-treat the villagers in such a way as to compel them to leave the place.

The only complaint made to me of the Turkish soldiers were that they took fruit and vegetables without paying for them, and that they had beaten some men who they had found on the mountains and accused of being in league with the robber bands or "Committees." I made particular inquiries everywhere with regard to the treatment of the women by the soldiers, and in no instance was a case of outrage or violation by soldiers of the regular army brought to my notice. In Dobrinishta itself an officer protected a man who was being ill-treated by Mustapha Chabush, of the rural police. I could hear of no villagers who had left Dobrinishta since the insurrection except some young men who had joined the "Committees." The villagers of Bansko and Dobrinishta, who took a prominent part in the insurrection, pressed me to have the soldiers removed, but I attributed this to a wish on their part to have more liberty of action in case of a rising and freer communication with the Bulgarian "Committees" on the mountains.



I believe the presence of regular troops is necessary to preserve order and protect the lives and property of the Moslem Bulgarians.

3. An attack by well-armed Turks on the village of Cremen; young and old, women and children, ill-treated, and ten of the principal men bound and taken to Nevrokop.

The villagers of Cremen knew nothing of this. The Hodja Bashi told me that some of the villagers, suspected of having carried provisions to the "Committee," had been beaten; that he had been taken to Nevrokop and been questioned with regard to the relations of the villagers with the "Committees," and then released; that Mustapha Chabush had come to Cremen to search for arms, and had found some each time, which he took away with him; that Mustapha had beaten the people who had arms, and that the only villagers of Cremen in prison were two men accused of stealing sheep. The Hodja Bashi had been taken prisoner by the "Committees," who, he said, were all Bulgarians, and ransomed for 12 liras. The priest of the village and other men who I spoke to confirmed what the Hodja Bashi said.

The villagers of Cremen took part in the insurrection, and some of the young men are still with the "Committees;" but the village was not touched by the Turkish troops.

4. Two Christians murdered near the village of Yokoruda, and one man fired at.

Yokoruda is a Bulgarian village, partly Christian, partly Moslem, near the frontier; and the country round it has, up to May last, been in a very disturbed state. Christians and Moslems alike complained to me of murders. The former brought to my notice the murders mentioned by M. Tonjoroff, and the latter stated that three Moslems were murdered by Bulgarians about Easter, and their horses carried off to Dubnitza, in Bulgaria. The Christians of Yokoruda also complained that they were not allowed to have a church bell or to keep pigs, and that they were beaten and forced to give money to the men who searched for arms. Heavy requisitions were made on the villages during the war, for which no payment was made. Christians and Moslems said there had been a great improvement since May.

5. A Christian village, not named, entered by brigands, who ill-treated the villagers and robbed them.

6. A band of Turks entered another village, not named, and began to roast a baby before the mother's eyes. When the baby was given back to the mother, half-burned, she was already out of her mind. An American missionary is ready to testify to this.

Any one reading M. Tonjoroff's letter would suppose that these two last outrages had been perpetrated in the Caza of Nevrokop, but I could learn nothing of them there. On speaking to M. Tonjoroff at Philippopoli he told me that, whilst attending a missionary meeting at Samokov last spring, he heard the Rev. Mr. Jencey, American missionary at Monastir, mention the two cases in a lecture, and that he supposed the outrages were committed in that district.

7. Four Bulgarians, of Bansko, caught by Shucry Bey last year on pretence that they were rebels, beaten by him most cruelly, and then banished to Asia Minor.

These men are still in banishment in Asia Minor. There is no pretence as to the active part taken by the people of Bansko in the rebellion; they themselves admit it. M. Tonjoroff states in his letter that he was himself a witness to the beating of the men. He told me at Philippopoli that he did not see the men beaten, but heard a noise in the street, and was told by the men next day that they had been beaten. He said that he considered this sufficient to constitute him a witness.

8. In the district of Nevrokop two bands of Bashi-Bazouks run riot, under the command of Mustapha and Kara Ali. They kill Bulgarians of importance and cut off their ears, and take them to the Nevrokop Beys.

Mustapha and Kara Ali were the two men entrusted with the search for arms. They found many rifles in the Bulgarian villages, but there can be no doubt that they carried out their work with great cruelty. (See my despatches of the 26th July and 15th September.)

No complaint was made to me of their having killed any one, and no one I met had heard that the ears of Bulgarians had been cut off.

9. The same bands and the Beys of the town are accused of continually murdering Christians, and of taking money, clothes, shoes, and food from them, and the Christians dare not, in consequence, go out for their work.

Until May last the Caza of Nevrokop was the scene of many disorders, but as far as I could judge the Moslem Bulgarians suffered almost, if not quite, as much as the Christian Bulgarians.

The statement that the Christians dare not go to their work is untrue, for I found the country closely cultivated at very long distances from the villages.

10. The Christians have to pay taxes, and are "being cast into prison, beaten, tortured, and deprived of their means of existence."

With reference to the payment of taxes and the manner in which they are collected, it is well known that great abuses exist throughout the Turkish Empire in this respect. I did not find these abuses greater at Nevrokop than elsewhere, and Christian and Moslem alike suffer from them. I visited the prisons at Raslog and Nevrokop without giving any previous notice. In the first I found no Christian prisoners, in the second but a small proportion of the total number. The general state of the caza is described in my despatches previously alluded to.

On my return to Philippopoli M. Tonjoroff told me that he had just received a letter from Raslog to the effect that, after my departure, the disturbances had increased; that the soldiers had at once begun to violate the women, and that the people had been afraid to tell me the truth. The story of the disturbances has been contradicted by the recent deputation from Raslog, who stated that the country has been perfectly quiet since my visit.

So far from the Christians being afraid to tell the truth, they spoke to me with great freedom, gave me petitions, and brought before me men who had been ill-treated.

I spoke to M. Tonjoroff with reference to some of the statements made in his letter, and hinted that greater accuracy was generally expected when information was supplied to the Agents of Her Majesty's Government by Protestant Congregational ministers.

I think M. Tonjoroff is somewhat too ready to believe every story sent to him from Macedonia, and to dwell upon details of which he has no certain knowledge. He is, at the same time, unwilling to admit that the Moslem Bulgarians suffer as well as the Christians, and apparently anxious to stand well with the patriotic or Pan-Bulgarian party.

The condition of the Nevrokop Caza is, no doubt, bad, but it has only recently been in a state of insurrection, and there are many cazas in Europe and Asia in a far worse state. M. Tonjoroff would do much more service to his compatriots in Nevrokop if he were to sift their statements carefully before sending them forward to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Philippopoli, and if he were to discourage a political agitation which cannot succeed without much bloodshed and misery.

(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

*September* 15, 1880.

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No. 543.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 28.)

(No. 379. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 21, 1880.

A SOMEWHAT extraordinary petition was presented to me some time ago respecting alleged occurrences at Kitchevo and other places in the Vilayet of Monastir. The petition was brought to the Embassy by a student of the Roberts College. The difficulty of ascertaining what amount of credit could be attached to the document (of which I inclose a copy) was great, and I accordingly requested Colonel Wilson, who has now obtained great experience in this class of inquiry, to look into the matter thoroughly and to report upon it.

I inclose Colonel Wilson's Report, which seems to be marked with the usual shrewdness and sound sense of this most useful officer.

With regard to the state of the localities in question, I consider it to be absolutely useless to make any special representation just at the present moment, but I shall not fail to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for doing so.

It must be taken as a proved fact that, in many provinces of the Empire, a state of things exists which approaches anarchy, and that no real improvement will take place till the Ottoman Government has settled the frontier questions, which are now engrossing their attention to the exclusion of all other business, however pressing.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 543.

*Petition.*

To his Excellency the Ambassador of Her Britannic Majesty in Constantinople.

Your Excellency,

EVER since the Berlin Treaty a great many bands of robbers have been going about in the district of Kitchevo, devastating the country. The leaders of the most noteworthy of these bands are as follows:—

(1) Djemo Fazlinski, of the village of Kitchevo; (2) Nouri Mustaphoff, from the village of Sielp; (3) Djephir Stenkofiski, of Poliatsiti; (4) Ryshid Imravroff, of Kitchevo; (5) Selim, of the village of Zaetz; (6) Bavtir, of the village of Bachishta; (7) Sulo Trupheldjioff, from Depheshte; (8) Ali Uzeiroff, from Sirbani; (9) Nazir, of Zaetz; (10) Bairam, of Bashnitza; (11) Vasil, of Blatza.

Neither of these vilayets have signed the petition.

These bands consist of from five to twenty persons. Sometimes they increase to from 50 to 100 men. They pass freely from village to village, raise various tributes by various methods, murder everyone who will not do as they wish, dishonour the women of the villages, force the bridegrooms to purchase the immunity of their weddings from disturbance, seize the prettiest girls, and marry them by force. In a word, they dispose of all that the villagers possess for their companions, accomplices, informants, and spies. They have the local villagers [kiradjis, or day-labourers; apparently Mussulmans are meant], who are the constant tormentors of the Christians.

The band of Djemail is the oldest and most famous for its exploits, for it is defended by the Mulazim Aline Bey, who is Djemo's uncle. The band of Nouri Mustaphoff acquired an official character in the affair of $\frac{\text{May 29}}{\text{June 11}}$, 1877, when at the house of the priest Ansepa, in the village of Tsieri; they cast into the flaming fire a child of 8 years of age, and burned with brands from the fire and with red-hot iron the priest's wife.

1. Not signed.

Almost at the same time ($\frac{\text{May 25}}{\text{June 6}}$, 1877), the notorious band of Ryshid Imravroff made itself famous by murdering in a meadow, in the presence of a great many people, the 12-year old child of Tyrpet of Ivanchishta, and afterwards Tyrpet himself.

2. Not signed.

The band of Vasil of Blatza has been organised since July 1879. It used to go about from village to village, and when it besieged one it ill-treated the villagers in a barbarous manner, and did not allow anyone to go out of village until they paid up the amount required of them.

At this time the band of Nazir of Zaetz excited fear and trembling, as it began to move out from the village of Podvia. On the $\frac{7}{19}$th June, 1879, having divided his company amongst the houses of the villagers, he remained himself with four companions in the house of the priest Dimitry. At midnight they placed the priest naked on the ground beside a roaring fire, with hands and feet bound. Nazir himself plucked out his beard and moustaches, and burned his whole body with red-hot irons, torturing his most delicate members with red-hot bars. "Let the same thing be done in every house in the village," said Nazir, "until they pay up their last penny." They occasioned screams and lamentation all over the village.

3. Not signed.

Next day a still more revolting act was perpetrated in the village of Lachana, where they collected together all the villagers, of both sexes, from the age of 12 upwards, and forced them to pass, one by one, before every member of the band. As they passed before every member, each had to bow down before his bared pudenda, saying to them that that was their god. They selected in this fashion sixteen of the prettiest women and girls, and after violating them during the entire night they threatened to mutilate them if the villagers did not buy them off with 100 liras.

4. Not signed.

In April of this year (1880) there was formed a fresh band under Aniza Dervish Ibrahimoff of our town. On $\frac{\text{April 12}}{\text{May 24}}$, 1880, in the centre of the town, and in the presence of a large number of Christians and Turks, and also of four police agents (Stradjars), he killed Martinka Milzka Nedanoff. He then collected a band, and on the $\frac{15}{27}$th May held a great feast in the village of Yaoretz, where he dishonoured two girls and one old woman. Besides the universal plundering of everything the villagers possessed, in which they met with no opposition, and besides the wholesale violation of women, in the space of only a few months there occurred innumerable murders, which it is impossible to relate and describe singly. The following are a few of them:—

5. Kitchevo; not signed.

6. Not signed.

Cilian Christoff: Djemail slew him at Dragidol for having made a complaint to the authorities against him.

7. Not signed.

8. Not signed.
9. ? Virar; signed.
10. Signed.

This same Djemail's band murdered, for the same reason, the following:—Takusha Vertakoski, of Zirkle, killed in his own village.

Stoiko Georgieff, of Vir, slain in his own house.

They slew also Nicola of Slatino, in his house, because he tried to defend the honour of his family, whom they violated before his eyes. They murdered Videta Josephoff and Bogina Smephanoff in their own houses, because they refused to assist them, by holding lighted candles whilst they violated their children. They killed Mircheti, of Devitch, and his wife, because they would not surrender their children to be dishonoured, and for the same reason they killed also Bojka Popoff, of Lokvitza.

11. Not signed.
12. Not signed.
† Kitchevo; not signed.
13. Signed.
14. Not signed.
Same as 10.

Ryshid's band murdered Troika Slioff in the open market-place of this town, and also Dima Ugrinoff in his own shop. Selim Agha murdered Zdravsta, of Ramne. It is the same person, too, who killed Noveto, of Orpanzi, and burned his house.

Stoian, of Slatino, ventured to complain to the authorities about the oppression of Djemail; the latter acted according to his custom, and cut Stoian's throat in his own house.

Same as 10.
15. Not signed.
16. Not signed.

The following men were murdered by Djemail in punishment for the same offence:—Vasil Angeleff, of Slatino, was murdered at his village; Sava Stoianoff, of Brot, was killed in the town market-place. Babe, of Mogila, was murdered on the road to Priliep.

Kitchevo.

Ryshid Imravoroff, who last year murdered Dima Ugrinoff for complaining to the authorities, attacked the house of Mrs. Throphilitza, of our town, violated her before the eyes of her family, as a punishment to her brother (inhabitant of Bicloemen Dolenzi), for having encouraged the villagers to complain of him to the authorities.

17. Not signed.* Kitchevo.

Chowan Stradjarin (a salaried watchman) shot Sanapdjia Kuretet, of the village of Popovian, and took his horse.

Metcho Ahmed Effendi, of Kitchevo, smashed with his pistol the skull of Georgi Popoff's wife, because she would not aid him to get her own daughter into his house, and he also shattered the hands of Nauma Dudula for attempting to defend the same girl.

18. Not signed.

Bairam, of Batchintza [previously written Bashnitza], had the audacity to collect from the town fifty-six young labourers, to whom he gave no pay; from all those who would not go to him he exacted a fine of one medjidieh silver.

Phenzo murdered, close to the town, Andrew Sopheff; in the town itself they murdered Troika Ilieff, of Shumobo.

10. Not signed.

On the $\frac{1}{10}$th March, 1880, they fired the house of Philip Burdjin, of Krushitza, to burn out his family. The villagers defended his children. They murdered Dima Neneski, of

? Kitchevo.

Dolentzi, at a distance of three hours from the town. In the town they killed Troitche, of Shumovo; and Georgi Ivanoff, of Kitchevo, murdered Uzedeme Yanchar in the midst of the town. On the $\frac{1}{20}$th April they burned Stephi and Seraphem Georgieff with their sheep in a barn. On the $\frac{1}{4}$th March the Turks of Zaetz burned the church of Tyin.

20. Not signed.

On the $\frac{1}{13}$th March they killed Ilia Stoimoff, of Kozichino; they killed Bodjina Pavleff, of Bielitza, at Bykovo; and Surbina Belimoff, of Kitchevo, close to the town. They

21. Not signed. Kitchevo.

fired and destroyed the monastery and church of the Holy Mother of God at the village of Poretche.

22. Not signed.
23. Not signed.

On the $\frac{24\text{th March}}{6\text{th April}}$ they burned the cowsheds of Abraham Kiproff, of Popobetz, and slew him. Ryshan Ibrahimolski, of Papradishta and Kerim, murdered Povet Milenkoff, of Kossovo, and burned two houses. Djemail, for abstaining from dishonouring the family of Zdravet, the priest of Gradeshnitza, exacted a ransom of 2,000 piastres; three days later he attacked the house of the said priest, and violated his two daughters-in-law.

24. Not signed.

On the $\frac{24\text{th March}}{6\text{th April}}$ they carried off the sheep of Spacet Kasanoff, of Orlentzi, and wounded him. On the $\frac{7}{19}$th May they plundered the herds of Lovchain.

Not signed.

On the $\frac{13}{25\text{th}}$ May the band of robbers which passed through Dolni-Deba plundered a quantity of cattle, and 3,000 sheep belonging to the villages of Bykonchain, Kolari, Zaetz, and Batchinshta. Near the town they fell upon a flock of 2,000 sheep, which was being led from Salonika to the mountains. They killed two of the shepherds, and carried off half the flock.

Not signed. † Kitchevo.

On the $\frac{24\text{th May}}{5\text{th June}}$ the band of Debip plundered eighteen horses and 3,000 sheep, all belonging to Damian Kechain, of Galitchnik, killing two of his shepherds. The other shepherds begged the commander of the 200 men, who were in the neighbouring military encampment, to take the sheep out of the hands of the brigands, but they were not listened to because they would not give the guarantee demanded of them by the commander, that in case any of his soldiers should be killed they would pay his blood-money.

25. Not signed.

Jalitchnik, a purely Bulgarian village of 600 houses, is exposed to the first attacks of the brigands as they come from Debreno. Last year, merely from the 5th to the



24th August, the following atrocities were committed in this village: they killed Alex Georgieff, Evgenia Abramoff, Arsa Damianoff; they took 19 horses and 3,000 sheep from Theodore Kahia alone; they killed his son and three shepherds.

26. Not signed.

On the $\frac{24\text{th May}}{5\text{th June}}$ Djemail seized the newly-married wife of Nicola Oereff, of Debicha, in order to give her to one of his band. On this occasion her father and brother were beaten to death.

27. Not signed.

Two years ago Ali Uzeiroff, of Sirbiani, murdered his fellow-villager, Vasili Tsats-ar, seized, converted, and took as his wife his daughter Zlatana, who escaped from his harem after one year. In punishment for this, Ali tortured for a long time the girl's mother, Vasileviteha, who, thinking that Ali would take her younger daughter Maria, sought the protection of the authorities, but the Cadi advised her to "give her up so as to be safe." Ali, incensed at this proceeding, shot the mother, on the 8th June, with his revolver, as she was pressing her child Maria in her embrace, to save her from the clutches of Ali.

Same as 12; not signed.

On the $\frac{13\text{th}}{25\text{th}}$ May, Djemail, in the presence of the whole population of Lokbitza, condemned to death and slew with his own hand the headman Stolet Naumoff, and threw his corpse to the dogs. Two others he wounded mortally, and three more he punished horribly, because they showed negligence in not collecting tribute for him with sufficient celerity.

Same as 12.

On the $\frac{24\text{th May}}{5\text{th June}}$ Djemail and his band seized and tortured in a horrible manner Turpet, the priest of Lokbitza, took from him 150 medjidiehs (25*l.*), and violated his daughter (aged 11), whom he left in a dying state. Next day the priest committed suicide.

Not signed.

On the same day a band of forty men from Debra carried off 800 sheep from Ivanchishta. Besides the brigand bands, there are also the Bollukbashes, appointed to protect the country, with their corps, who have turned themselves into a brigand band, no whit different from the other brigands.

Where.

To top all this, the authorities have, since the 1st June, 1879, introduced the practice of shutting up women in the common prison, with all the other prisoners, as a pledge for the payment of tribute.

The murders are innumerable, robberies universal, violations of most ordinary occurrence, the atrocities beyond imagination, and the villagers are convinced that all this takes place with the approval of the authorities, and are running away, abandoning their houses and property, and emigrating to the surrounding towns—Priliep, Bitolia, Kitchevo. The Notables are emigrating to the Principalities of Bulgaria and Servia. The open protectors of the miscreants are: Alim Bey, Mulazim, Azim Mehmed Cappatchen, Ahmed Medjiroff, Mollah, Petva and Takrir Kiatibi, and the Mollah Bekir Kalphic. For refuge in time of need they have the Chief Dervish, Hussein Baba, belonging to the Téké at Brod, who hides them in his harendik. They have their protectors also in the central Government of the vilayet at Bitolia. The villagers who have fled to Bitolia are constantly complaining to the authorities, but in vain.

Djemail Fazlieff, the most infamous miscreant, went to Bitolia some days ago, and was imprisoned on the application of our villagers, but after a few days they released him, and now he is more savage than ever. As we have no hope of the amelioration of this heavy and intolerable condition of ours, nor of any reforms, we appeal to the Great Powers, Signatories of the Berlin Treaty, and beseech them with tears of blood to insist with our Government on the prevention of these atrocities, committed under the influence of and with the encouragement of the authorities themselves. Otherwise we are completely lost and crushed to death at a time when we are considered to be under the protection of Europe, and when the Governments of the Six Powers are caring for our happiness and prosperity.

We beg you humbly to represent our present petition to your Government, and to take measures for our preservation from manifest destruction, and remain, with deep respect, &c.

(The inhabitants, Christian Bulgarians of the District of Kitchevo in Macedonia.)

*Kitchevo, June* $\frac{5}{17}$*th*, 1880.

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Appended to this document are the seals of the head Mukhtars of the following villages:—

Kaloserdj (two), Mughatsh, Sooshedja, Selatina (Slatino), Ghireshtepe, Debragodol, Lekvije, Virar, Ramena (Ramne), Mevidreshte.

Inclosure 2 in No. 543.

*Colonel Wilson to Mr. Goschen.*

(Confidential.)

*Therapia, September* 10, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that the inclosed petition is sealed by the Mukhtars of ten villages in the district of Kitchevo (Katschawa on Kiepert's map), and dated Kitchevo, the 5th June, 1880.

Contents of petition.

The petition relates to robberies, murders, rape, torture with hot irons and other crimes committed by bands of brigands on Bulgarian Christians. The names of the leaders (eleven) of the bands are given, and also those of the people who have been murdered, robbed, &c.

In nearly every case the date of the crime and the name of the village in which it was committed are given. The first act of violence is said to have taken place on the 30th May/1st June, 1877, the last on the 21th May/4th June, 1880. The brigands are reported to be protected by certain local Notables, who are named, especially by the chief Dervish at the Brad Téké, and by the authorities at Monastir. The petitioners ask for protection.

Character of petition.

It is impossible to say whether the statements in the petition are accurate. They are so detailed that it is natural to suppose they are true. It is remarkable, however, that out of twenty-seven villages at which crimes are said to have been committed, only three have sealed the petition, and that the seal of Kitchevo, where there appear to have been many acts of violence, and where the petition was drawn up, is not attached. It may also be observed that the crimes are spread over a period of three years, during the first two of which a great part of Macedonia was in actual insurrection.

Whilst in Eastern Roumelia I heard that the district round Monastir was in a very disturbed state in consequence of the number of robber bands in the mountains, and I think it is quite certain that many murders, &c., have been committed, though the actual circumstances of each case may be exaggerated.

The acts appear to be those of brigands, and not due to any organized system of persecuting the Christians; the Moslem peasants also have probably suffered from the brigands, but they rarely complain, and have no means of bringing their sufferings to the notice of the Ambassador at Constantinople.

Mode in which petition was presented.

The petition was given to Vassil Karayoroff, a student of Robert College, for translation, by a merchant of Priliep who will not give his name. Karayoroff handed the translation to the merchant, who gave it to a man named Rizoff to present to your Excellency. Rizoff passed it on to Karayoroff, who eventually presented it.

Karayoroff said that Rizoff had told him that the Archimandrite Methodius would accompany him to your Excellency, but he had not himself seen Methodius that day, and did not know whether he had seen the petition. He had never spoken to the Archimandrite on the subject. Karayoroff stated that he did not know whether the petition was true, but added that he had been in that part of the country last year, and affairs were very bad then. Karayoroff also said that if any one were to go to the place the villagers would tell them nothing, as they would be afraid to speak, fearing the vengeance of the bandits and of the authorities after the European visitor had left.

Interview with Mr. Byington, Editor of the Bulgarian newspaper.

On the 9th instant I called at the American Mission-house at Stamboul, and saw Mr. Byington, the editor of the Bulgarian newspaper published by the missionaries. He told me that he often received letters from Bulgarians in the Vilayet of Monastir, describing murders and other crimes committed by Moslems on Christians. He published such letters when they were signed, but he could not vouch for the truth of the statements made in them. Mr. Byington said that he would not publish anything which he knew to be false, and that Mr. Baird, missionary at Monastir, had told him he did not think the statements published in the newspaper were exaggerated. He had known instances of persons sending letters under a feigned name, probably from fear of their names becoming known to the authorities. I told Mr. Byington that people would generally believe a story published in an American missionary newspaper to be true, and that I thought the Board incurred a great responsibility in publishing accounts of murders and atrocities of which they had no better evidence than letters sent to them by persons they did not know. I also asked whether they ever published accounts of murders and other crimes committed on Moslems by brigands or Christians.

Mr. Byington replied that he had no means of finding out the truth or otherwise of the statements made to him, and that no one sent him letters respecting outrages committed on Moslems; besides which the Moslems could not read Bulgarian.

I asked Mr. Byington if he could supply me with details of any particular crimes;



he said that he would rather not do so, but promised to send me some back numbers of the Bulgarian paper, which is published once a week.

Mr. Byington seemed particularly anxious that the newspaper should not be brought to the notice of the Turkish Government, and expressed his belief that if there had been a Bulgarian censor of the press the newspaper would have been suppressed long ago. I promised that I would make no such use of the information supplied to me, but added that, as the paper was published for sale, I supposed anyone could purchase a copy.

I would beg to suggest that the paper be taken in by Her Majesty's Embassy, and a précis made of it each week by one of the Student Dragomans.

With regard to the Kitchevo petition, there can be no doubt as to the general prevalence of brigandage in the district, and I would beg to submit, for your Excellency's consideration, that a representation be made to the Porte on the subject, in general terms; if names were given the witnesses or villagers might probably be ill-treated.

The new Governor-General of Monastir is said to be an energetic, capable man, and he might be urged to take active measures to suppress the brigandage.

I am not aware to what extent a Pan-Bulgarian propaganda is being carried on at Monastir, but if a Consul were sent there to open an inquiry it would probably lead to a political demonstration, and private inquiry would only confirm the existence of brigandage on a large scale.

I would beg at the same time to point out the necessity of urging the Porte to introduce the law, recently elaborated by the International Commission, as soon as possible. I gathered from conversations with Bulgarians in Eastern Roumelia, that the non-execution of the new law would be adduced by the Pan-Bulgarian party as a strong motive for intervention in the affairs of Macedonia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

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No. 544.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 380.)

My Lord,

*Therapia, September* 21, 1880.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 200 of the 3rd August last, I have the honour to inclose copy of a further Report by Colonel Wilson respecting his visit to the Caza of Nevrokop in Macedonia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 544.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson to Mr. Goschen.*

Sir,

*Therapia, September* 15, 1880.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 26th July last I have the honour to forward, for your Excellency's information, some additional particulars respecting the Caza of Nevrokop in the Vilayet of Salonica.

The caza, which includes the Nahiés of Raslog and Dospat, is said to contain 50,000 male inhabitants, of whom 15,000 are reported to be Christians. The population is Bulgarian, with the exception of 200 Greek families at Nevrokop, a village of Moslem Greeks, and a few families of Wallachs, Yuruks, Jews, and Osmanli Turks.

I had no means of testing the numbers supplied to me, but I noticed that the Christians were in a majority in the Nahié of Raslog, whilst the Moslems were in a large majority in the Nahiés of Nevrokop and Dospat.

There is little difference in the character and mode of life of the Christian and Moslem Bulgarians; both are alike frugal, industrious, and obstinate, slow to receive new ideas, slower still to part with them, and both are extremely religious.

The Pomak is also very strict as regards the veiling and seclusion of the women. In the mixed villages the daily life is almost the same, except that the Christian attends his church and the Moslem his mosque.

The relations of the two religious sects to the Government are similar to those which

exist elsewhere in Turkey. Christian and Moslem are alike crushed by taxation, oppressed by local notables, robbed and bullied by the zaptiehs, and unprotected from brigands. The Christian is looked down upon by the Moslem; his evidence carries no weight in a Court of Law, and he very rarely receives justice in a suit with a Moslem; he is, however, always able to bring his sufferings to the notice of the European Powers through the medium of the clergy. The Moslem has no one to represent his grievances, and the advantage he gains over the Christian in civil life is almost compensated by his having to bear the whole weight of the conscription.

The Turkish officials have the same bad reputation in Nevrokop as they have elsewhere.

Until the recent war the Christian and Moslem Bulgarians appear to have lived on very good terms with each other, and their feelings do not seem to have become embittered until the insurrection broke out in Macedonia after the promulgation of the arrangements made under the Treaty of Berlin.

At present the Christians and Moslems distrust each other, and the former are constantly excited and pushed on to commit acts of violence by agitators from Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, or by members of the "Committees" in the mountains. The feeling which existed in the early part of the year may be gathered from Colonel Synge's letter to Mr. Consul General Blunt of the 8th February last (Blue Book "Turkey No. 5, 1880," pp. 242-244). At the time of my visit in July last there was less agitation, and the people were engaged busily in harvest operations, but the ill-will between the two Bulgarian sects is only dormant, and renewed attempts at insurrection would certainly lead to a succession of murders and outrages on both sides.

As far as the Caza of Nevrokop if concerned, the history of the insurrection appears to have been somewhat as follows: When the terms of the Berlin Treaty became known agitators entered the caza from Bulgaria, with a view of creating a rebellion. Many Bulgarian villagers then passed singly through the mountains to the monastery of Rilo, and to Dubnitza in Bulgaria, where they obtained arms and ammunition, with which they returned. In some cases the stocks of the rifles were cut for convenience of carriage, and in two instances pack animals laden with arms are said to have reached the village of Kremen. Soon afterwards a band of Bulgarians, believed to be about 500 strong, entered the caza and proceeded to the large Bulgarian village of Bansko, at the foot of the Perim Mountains. These Bulgarians, possibly from their connection with the Revolutionary Committees in Bulgaria or the Gymnastic Societies in Eastern Roumelia, were called "Committees," a term which is now applied to every robber band.

Disturbances first broke out in the village of Dobremeshte (Dobronitra), where the Christians imprisoned the Moslem Bulgarians. The villagers of Bansko then rose and murdered some Turkish officials who happened to be there at the time. Turkish regular troops were now ordered up from Seres and Salonica, and the "Committees" and villagers took up a position in a gorge between Sutsin Khan and Dobremeshte to dispute their progress. The Turkish Commander, however, turned the position, and marched on Bansko by Ranja. When this movement was seen, the Bulgarians retreated hastily on Bansko, and the villagers, taking their valuables with them, fled to the mountains.

At this moment a most extraordinary scene occurred, the truth of which was confirmed to me by Bulgarians. The "Committees" fired over the heads of the villagers and created a panic, during which the peasants threw away their valuables. The "Committees" loaded themselves with the spoil of the people they had come to liberate, and then attempted to hold Bansko, but, after a stout fight, they were driven out by the Turkish troops, and took refuge in the Perim Mountains.

During the operations a large part of the village of Banja was burned, by whom is uncertain, as well as a few houses in Dobremeshte and Bansko. The villagers having fled, the three villages were "looted" by the Turkish troops.

The troops advanced towards the end of October or beginning of November 1878, and, so far as I could ascertain, they behaved no worse than European troops would have done under similar circumstances. In the case of Bansko, which they had entered fighting, and where Turkish officials had been murdered, they behaved with singular moderation. The churches and houses of Bansko standing intact offer a marked contrast to the burned Moslem villages and ruined mosques in Eastern Roumelia.

No opposition was made to the repatriation of the Christians who had fled, and when I passed through the country they had, with the exception of about 500 families, returned and entered into possession of their houses and lands. I was told by some of the villagers that they were cultivating the lands of the absentees, and I heard no complaints of Christian property being occupied by Moslems.



From the winter of 1878 until the month of May last the district appears to have been in a very disturbed state. The "Committees," broken up into small bands, lived in the mountains, whence they descended whenever there appeared to be a chance of plunder or of political action. Murders of Christians by Moslems and of Moslems by Christians became frequent. Men were carried off to the mountains for ransom, and the presence of troops alone saved the country from grave disorders. The failure of the harvest last year, and the consequent scarcity during the winter, added to the difficulties of the situation, which were further increased by the numbers of penniless refugees from Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia who had to be housed and fed. These poor people tried at one time to support life by eating a soft kind of rock, from the effects of which many of them died.

The improvement which took place in May is due partly to the action of Abédine Pasha, who, when Vali of Salonica, organized a special force of gendarmerie, and partly to political causes, which resulted in the withdrawal of many of the "Committee" men to Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

Last year and this spring the authorities of Nevrokop endeavoured to suppress brigandage, paralyze the action of the "Committees," and disarm the Christians who had recently been in insurrection. The means by which they attempted to do this were, unfortunately, very unsatisfactory. Moslem zaptiehs and "nefrans," or rural police, were employed, and these men often carried out their orders in a harsh manner. Sometimes with a view of extorting money from the peasantry, men were accused on slight grounds of supplying food to, or holding communication with, the "Committees," and summarily beaten, while the search for arms was, in a few cases, conducted with great brutality. In two instances I was able myself to see the effect produced by the ill-treatment of the zaptiehs, but even in one of these, the circumstances of which I attach a statement, have been much exaggerated.

It is very difficult to arrive at the truth of complaints made by the villagers; the Christians nearly everywhere complained that the country was unsafe; that they could not go out to till their fields; that their women were constantly insulted; that they were beaten almost to death, &c. When I pointed out that the whole country was closely cultivated, far up the mountain sides, and must consequently have been tilled, and that whilst riding I often met women walking, without any men, along the roads, or working alone in the fields at long distances from villages, the answer always was, "It is better now; it was so last year or the year before." Though I often asked to see men who had been ill-treated, only two cases in which bruises were still visible were brought to me.

In one petition, given to me at Raslog, it was stated that the Bulgarian village of Bansko, only 3 miles distant, had been destroyed by the Moslems; yet I found the damage to consist merely of five or six houses burned during the fight. The murders, too, appeared, in nearly every case, committed on men passing from Nevrokop Caza to Bulgaria or Eastern Roumelia, or *vice versâ*.

There can be no question as to the existence of much suffering and much oppression in the caza; but its condition compares favourably with that of most cazas in Anatolia, and the position of the Christians is decidedly better than that of the Moslems in the department of Bourgas in Eastern Roumelia.

I may add that the Mudir of Raslog seemed to me quite unfit for his post, and that the Kaïmakam of Nevrokop did not appear to be sufficiently intelligent, or firm enough, to deal with the existing state of affairs. Neither Mudir nor Kaïmakam knew Bulgarian, which is spoken by Christian and Moslem alike, and few of the officials could carry on a conversation in that language. The position of the Raslog nahié, which marches with Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and which is close to Rilo Monastery, a centre of Pan-Bulgarian agitation, is one of great importance; and the Porte, if it desires to maintain order and to afford protection to the people, Christian and Moslem, should send one of its best subordinate officials as Mudir, and commence at once to apply the vilayet law recently elaborated by the International Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 544.

*Case of a Young Man of Dobrunishte (Dobronitza), Beaten and Smoked with Burning Straw by Mustapha Chaoush, of the Nevrokop Rural Police.*

IN a letter dated Philippopoli, the 14th June, 1880, and addressed to Mr Stephens (see Mr. Stephens' No. 293 of the 18th June), the Rev. J. Tonjoroff states that "a Turkish band, after entering Dobrunishte (Dobronitza), beating, outraging, and robbing most of the people, took some of them and hung them by their feet, and put burning straw under their heads."

At Raslog, Banga, and Bansko, I heard that a young man of Dobrunishte had been tortured with burning straw, and that his private parts had been mutilated. The story was told so circumstantially that, on arriving at Dobrunishte, I requested that the young man might be brought to me. He came with his father to a Bulgarian house, and the following story was told to me in the presence of about twenty Bulgarians, no Moslem being in the room:—

Mustapha Chaoush came to the village with a number of rural police to search for arms, and he seized, amongst others, the young man and his father. They were tied to trees with their arms stretched above their heads, and to make the father confess where his arms were concealed Mustapha Chaoush and his men commenced beating and kicking the young man, and one of them held lighted straw under his face. While this was going on an officer of the regular army, who happened to pass, snatched the straw away, and ordered Mustapha Chaoush to release the men; he asked at the same time under what authority they were acting. According to the villagers Mustapha replied that regular troops had no control over his actions, and showed the officer a paper, authorizing him to search for arms; this was denied by the officers and the Kaïmakam at Nevrokop. Everyone in the room declared that the young man had been mutilated, and the father assured me that such was the case. I insisted on examining the man, and after some difficulty I succeeded in doing so, the father declaring up to the last moment that his son had been mutilated. I found the man suffering from bruised and swelled testicles, but there appeared to be no permanent injury, and on my questioning the father as to his son's occupation, he said that he had been constantly at work in the fields, and riding to the neighbouring villages since he was beaten, about two months previously. I told the father that his son required perfect rest, and that if he obliged him to work as he had hitherto done the consequences to the young man might be serious. He replied that there was no one to work for him but his son, and that he could not get on without his labour; he promised, however, to give him some rest. I could not find out whether his son had been purposely beaten on the private parts or, whether he had been struck by an accidental blow when fastened to the tree. The injury could not originally have been great, but it had been very much aggravated by the hard labour the man's father had obliged him to undertake.

It was apparently on the same occasion that the Priest was dragged from the church and severely beaten by Mustapha Chaoush, as described in my despatch of the 26th July.

These two cases were the only ones brought to my notice at Dobrunishte, but they are sufficient to show the manner in which the search for arms was conducted, and the disorders which follow from the employment of irregular unpaid police on such a delicate task.

(Signed) C. W. WILSON.

*September* 15, 1880.

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No. 545.

*M. Kyriotis to Vice-Consul Blakeney.—(Inclosed in Vice-Consul Blakeney's No. 5; received September* 28.)

(Translation.)
(Confidential.)

*Janina, September* 9, 1880.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that the troops are now ready as if on the eve of war, a sufficient quantity of ammunition having been served out to them a few days since, which shows the resistance of the Turkish Government.

It appears also that, in order to have more liberty in carrying out its projects, many Mussulman families have been urged to quit. It is even said that the Férik Pasha has



secretly advised all those Mussulmans who wish to leave to do so now, because later on Government, finding itself in the midst of warlike disorders, will not be able to help them even with a belt (τώνα) in removing their families, nor afford them the necessary security.

I am, &c.
(Signed) B. KYRIOTIS.

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No. 546.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 28.)

(No. 573.)
My Lord,

*Vienna, September* 20, 1880.

I HAVE communicated to the Austro-Hungarian Government the instructions to Mr. Goschen repeated in your Lordship's telegram to me of yesterday directing him to intimate to the Porte that there can be no further negotiation about the Montenegrin frontier-line, but that if the proposal of the Powers now before the Turkish Government is accepted, and loyally carried out, no further concessions will be demanded in favour of the Principality.

The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador has been authorized to make a communication in the same sense if the Representatives of all the other Powers do the same.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 547.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 28.)

(No. 576. Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord,

*Vienna, September* 22, 1880.

M. DE KÁLLAY, speaking to me of the language of the Sultan and Said Pacha with respect to the conditions upon which Dulcigno would be given up, has expressed his belief that they were neither of them sincere in wishing to bring about a settlement, and that their real object is to protract the negotiations so as to gain time, and make it too late for the operation of ships upon the coast.

He does not think, therefore, that much attention should be paid to them, but as Baron Haymerle is still at Pesth, this must only be taken as his own individual opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 548.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 28.)

(No. 578. Extender.)
My Lord,

*Vienna, September* 24, 1880.

I AM informed that M. de Kállay telegraphed to Pesth to ask Baron Haymerle what answer was to be returned to the inquiry of Baron Calice whether some discretion might not be given to the Ambassadors at Constantinople in communicating with the Admirals of the combined squadron.

I had already informed him of the answer which your Lordship had given to Mr. Goschen upon the subject.

Baron Haymerle replied that before deciding upon the instructions to be sent to Baron Calice, he would like to talk the matter over with M. de Kállay upon returning to Vienna, where he will arrive this evening, but there seems to be some apprehension that confusion might arise if the communications from the Embassies to the Admirals appeared to point in a direction which might not be identical with that indicated in their instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 549.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 580. Extender.)
*Vienna, September 24, 1880.*

My Lord,

M. LIPPICH having inquired whether the Austrian Government wished him to leave Scutari, stating at the same time that he did not apprehend any personal danger in remaining, has been informed that he must himself be the judge of the necessity of abandoning his post; but that he was at liberty to leave it if he should think that there would be a risk in remaining.

I am informed by Prince Reuss that instructions to the same effect are sent to the German Consul.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 550.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 904.)
*Paris, September 27, 1880.*

My Lord,

IN my despatch No. 881 of the 20th instant I informed your Lordship that I have communicated to the French Government the substance of a despatch from Mr. Goschen with reference to the new Organic Statute for European Turkey.

I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note which I have received from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, stating that he has informed the French Ambassador at Constantinople that he is authorized to examine, with his English colleague, the means to be employed to induce the Porte to put the new Statute into operation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure in No. 550.

*M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to Mr. Adams.*

*Paris, le 26 Septembre, 1880.*

M. le Ministre,

J'AI l'honneur de vous assurer réception de votre lettre datée du 20 de ce mois qui contient la copie d'une dépêche adressée par M. Goschen à Lord Granville au sujet des mesures à prendre pour obtenir la promulgation du Projet de Loi élaboré par la Commission de la Roumélie Orientale.

Conformément au désir que vous avez exprimé dans cette lettre au nom de votre Gouvernement, je ferai savoir à l'Ambassadeur de la République à Constantinople qu'il est autorisé à examiner avec son collègue d'Angleterre les moyens d'amener la Porte Ottomane à mettre en vigueur le nouveau Statut préparé par les Commissaires des Grandes Puissances.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

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No. 551.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 908. Extender.)
*Paris, September 27, 1880.*

My Lord,

BARON DE COURCEL communicated to me the following telegram, dated yesterday from Livadia, which had been sent to him by Count Kapnist, and which, I presume, has been equally communicated to Her Majesty's Government:—

"Nous recevons de notre Ministre au Monténégro l'information que Riza Pacha a donné une réponse négative à la sommation de l'Amiral Anglais, en déclarant qu'il défendrait Dulcigno jusqu'à la dernière extrémité.



"Il nous paraît urgent que les Puissances fassent une protestation unanime à Constantinople en rejetant sur la Porte la responsabilité de toutes les conséquences."

M. de Courcel requested me to ascertain from your Lordship the view taken by Her Majesty's Government with reference to this telegram.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 552.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 909.)
*Paris, September 27, 1880.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 1291 of the 24th instant, I asked Baron de Courcel to-day what view the French Government were inclined to take of the question of the Persian Ambassador acting as Doyen of the Corps Diplomatique at Constantinople, where a number of the questions that give rise to Conferences between the Representatives of the Powers arise out of the Capitulations.

M. de Courcel answered that the view of the French Government was that, in all questions of form, ceremony, or etiquette the Persian Ambassador should be accepted as the Doyen, just as Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, was accepted in London; but that in other questions, such as Treaty matters, matters arising out of the Capitulations, &c., they considered that it was not for him either to call or assist at a Conference of Representatives, but that only those Representatives should meet together who were directly interested.

I asked M. de Courcel what the French Government would have their Ambassador do in the case which had happened, viz., the summoning of the Corps Diplomatique to discuss the Report of the Dragomans on the new Civil and Criminal Code. He seemed to think that in such a case an excuse should be made similar to that given in the present instance, and he was evidently averse to the action of the Persian Ambassador.

The name of M. de Novikoff, the Russian Ambassador, was not mentioned during our conversation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 553.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28, 12·30 A.M.)*

(No. 262.)
(Telegraphic.)
*Therapia, September 27, 1880, 1 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 259.

After usual preamble, the note states that the Undersigned might take serious exception to the inaccuracies contained in that part of the Turkish note which relates to the history of the negotiations. They refrain, however, from enumerating them, and though it is both their right and, to a certain extent, their duty to notice certain expressions which prove that the Porte does not realize its position as regards the Powers, they prefer to pass over the unusual form of his Excellency's communication, and reply at once to the conclusions of which it is a summary.

As regards the first condition mentioned in Porte's note, the Undersigned declare it to be totally unacceptable.

No Power can alienate nor limit the right in its sovereignty to use its forces whenever it considers it necessary to do so, and the Cabinets reserve on this point entire liberty, both of appreciation and of action.

As regards the second point, the Powers are most willing to satisfy the Ottoman Government, the more so as Articles XXVII and XXX of the Berlin Treaty already meet the point with regard to which it expresses anxiety. They are also willing, if necessary, to place on record and perfect those guarantees by a special declaration.

As regards the two points raised in the third condition, the Powers must maintain the terms of the note of the 15th September; but if the Porte accepts and executes the conditions laid down in the note, they gladly undertake to ask no further territorial cession in favour of Montenegro. The only object the Powers have had in view

during the whole course of these negotiations has been to obtain from the Porte the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. In the hope of facilitating the execution of its engagements, they have on two occasions agreed to modify the conditions of the Treaty as regards the Montenegrin frontier delimitation.

The Ottoman Government have, however, failed to fulfil their engagements.

The Powers accordingly protest against the opposition made by the Porte to their legitimate demands, and make the Ottoman Government responsible for the consequences.

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No. 554.

*Mr. Kirby Green to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28.)*

(No. 112.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cettinjé, September 28, 1880.*

I HAVE arrived here.

The Prince is in such an anxious state that I venture to suggest that I should be kept fully informed of what is going on, to know how to meet His Highness' inquiries.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

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No. 555.

*Lord Tenterden to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 593.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 28, 1880, 1 P.M.*

HAVE you received our repetitions of Captain Sale's telegrams Nos. 13 and 14 of yesterday? We are repeating to you his No. 14, which is to same effect as No. 13.]

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No. 556.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28, 3 P.M.)*

(No. 104.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 28, 1880, 1·10 P.M.*

FRENCH Admiral having telegraphed yesterday that the Prince of Montenegro accepts the situation, but before proceeding to real conflict with Turkish army he is obliged to beg the Powers to say whether, in this conflict, he can count on their political and military aid, which is more efficacious than that of a naval demonstration in the present limits, French Government are anxious to know what Her Majesty's Government propose; and they point to the paragraph in the amended instructions to the Admiral in the case of the Prince failing to comply with the invitation of the Powers to advance his troops.

I said my last news was that at a Conference of the Admirals yesterday it was decided to wait for further instructions.

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No. 557.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 28, 3·10 P.M.)*

(No. .)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 28, 1880, 1·35 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 506.

I have received French text collective note as telegraphed by French Ambassador at Constantinople, and will forward it by messenger this evening.

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No. 557*.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 28.)*

(Secret.)
My Lord, *Admiralty, September 28, 1880.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copies of deciphers of two telegrams, dated the 27th instant, which have been received from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour respecting the proposed occupation of Dulcigno by the Prince of Montenegro.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 557*.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 27, 1880, 2·45 P.M.*

THE Montenegro Minister for Foreign Affairs has just communicated to me letter from the Prince of Montenegro replying to the official invitation to the occupation of Dulcigno position.

In this letter Prince of Montenegro states his willingness to accept the invitation, and his readiness to occupy the position, even if he be opposed by Turkish troops, but he goes on to say that, as he has received from the Turkish local authorities warning that any advance on his part will be deemed an act of war against Turkey, he desires, before committing himself to war against the whole of the Turkish Empire, to learn what degree of support he may expect from the Powers other than that which the fleets can give him.

The Prince forwards a copy of the letter from the Turkish authorities above alluded to.

I venture to point out that the case is one hardly covered by my instructions. The Prince has not declined the invitation, and yet he could scarcely be expected, by attacking Dulcigno, to commence a war against Turkey with no better support than the fleet could give him, which, in the opinion of all the technical officers who have reconnoitred the coast, is extremely small.

A Conference of the Representatives of the Powers will be held to-day, and I will at once communicate the result to their Lordships.

(For result of Conference see telegram, Inclosure 2.)

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Inclosure 2 in No. 557*.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 27, 1880, 4·35 P.M.*

AT a Conference held to-day the Representatives of the various Powers at Gravosa have all agreed to send the following telegram to their Governments:—

"The Commander-in-chief has received from the Prince of Montenegro a letter brought by his Minister of Foreign Affairs. He acknowledges the receipt of the invitation addressed to him to advance his troops and take possession of district of Dulcigno by military means, being supported by fleet except in so far as [? regards] the landing of men. His Highness announces having received from the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces a notice that he will consider the crossing of the frontier by the Montenegrin army as a declaration of war, and that he will repulse force by force.

"The Prince accepts this situation, but before entering on action which will involve him in a regular struggle with the Ottoman Empire, he finds himself obliged to request the Great Powers to inform him if, in this conflict, he may count upon political and military support from them, more efficacious than that of a naval demonstration in its present limits.

"The Admirals, complying with their instructions, are agreed to inform their Governments, and await further orders."

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No. 558.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 594.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 28, 1880, 3·30 P.M.

CABINET at 12 o'clock on Thursday.

Her Majesty's Government would be glad to know your views of the situation.

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No. 559.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 669.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 28, 1880, 4 P.M.

THE case supposed in my telegram No. 666 of yesterday was that of the fleet being driven away by bad weather, or Turks opposing out of reach of the sea.

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No. 560.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 28, 9 P.M.)

(No. 156.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 28, 1880, 6·26 P.M.

BARON HAYMERLE is not disposed to take the responsibility of advising the Prince of Montenegro to advance, for if he did so by the advice of the Powers and chanced to be defeated, they would be placed in a position of the utmost embarrassment.

The Prince, he says, has asked whether he would be supported politically and militarily, to which he answers "Yes" as regards political support, but "No" as regards military assistance beyond that of the naval demonstration.

I asked what he would propose to do in the face of dead-lock.

He said that he saw nothing for it but to continue to exert pressure on the Sultan, and he seems determined not to allow himself to [group wrong; ? be drawn] into possible war with Turkey.

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No. 561.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 28, 9 P.M.)

(No. 157.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 28, 1880, 5·30 P.M.

WITH reference to communication to the Porte proposed by the Russian Government, Baron Haymerle sees no particular use in notes by which the Powers throw all responsibility on the Porte, while the Porte, on the other side, throws it on the Powers; but the last note of the Ambassadors seems to him to be such as will satisfy the Russian Government.

His Excellency would prefer a note requiring something specific, and calling upon the Porte to send Riza Pasha the orders which it had promised to give him for the cession of Dulcigno to Montenegro.

He is especially anxious that, if a conflict takes place, it should be with the Albanians alone, and that the responsibility should rest with Riza Pasha and not with the Turkish Government, with which he does not intend to be drawn into hostilities.

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No. 562.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 28, 9 P.M.)

(No. 158.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 28, 1880, 6·26 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Consul at Scutari telegraphs that Riza Pasha denies that there is any truth in the statement that he has called upon the Mirdites to come to the defence of Dulcigno,

or that a Turkish ship has been landing supplies for the Albanians, though some have been landed for the garrison.

He [? says], however, that if the Montenegrins attacked Turkish territory before he received orders to give it up, he would call not only the Mirdites, but all the Albanian clans to come to its defence, but he repeated that if he receives the necessary instructions Dulcigno can be ceded without difficulty.

Baron Haymerle has promised that any information of interest that he receives from Scutari during Mr. Green's absence shall be communicated to me.

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No. 563.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 633. Confidential. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September 28, 1880.*

Sir,

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that the case supposed in my telegram No. 666 of yesterday was that of the fleet being driven away owing to bad weather, or of the Turks opposing the Montenegrins beyond the reach of the sea.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 564.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 336.)

*Philippopoli, September 16, 1880.*

My Lord,

I HAVE had long conversations within the last few days with the Bulgarian Metropolitan and the Acting Directors of Justice and Finance, M. Kessiakoff and Dr. Strauski, which I think it right to report to your Lordship.

The Metropolitan, whose bearing, whenever we have met, has always been exceedingly friendly, called at the Consulate-General last Monday, and expressed in very warm terms his own sense, and that of the Bulgarians, of the efforts which England had invariably made in the cause of political and religious liberty, and of the especial services rendered by her to the Christian races of the Balkan Peninsula. He likewise expressed particular gratitude for the sympathy shown towards the Bulgarians by Mr. Gladstone.

As the clergy exercise so much influence in this province, and as I observed that his Eminence evidently expected some expression on my part of the views of Her Majesty's Government, I availed myself of the opportunity to urge upon him the necessity, in the interest of the Bulgarians themselves, of the strict maintenance of peace throughout the peninsula, and of a cessation of those agitating practices, the alleged existence of which was producing so bad an impression in Europe. I said that I entertained far too high a regard for his Eminence personally, and for his sacred office, to imagine that such conduct was for a moment countenanced by him; but that it was frequently alleged that there existed a certain clique of ultra-Bulgarians who allowed sentimental views to overcome their better judgment, and who kept the population in a state of expectancy which was unnatural, and most injurious to the moral and economical development of the province. If this were the case, it behoved his Eminence, whose influence was very great, to use his best efforts to calm the public mind. Such, I was told, was his popularity and the means at his command, that I could not doubt his success. By so doing he would render valuable service, not only to the Government, but to the Bulgarians themselves, whose trade and occupation were suffering from the abnormal uneasiness and excitement which prevailed. I concluded by saying I was very pleased indeed to hear the friendly sentiments of the English people for the Bulgarians so cordially acknowledged; but I warned his Eminence that this friendly feeling would undoubtedly be alienated if they made a bad use of the rights which had been secured to them under the Treaty of Berlin.

The Metropolitan replied that exaggerated reports had been spread concerning the province. If occasional excesses had occurred, they were due to the unsettled state of the country; adding that the Bulgarians were now more than ever anxious to win the good-will and respect of Europe. I told his Eminence that they could best



accomplish this by seeing that justice was dealt out to all the populations of the province alike, and by loyally executing the provisions of the Statute.

Before leaving, Monseigneur Panaretos referred to the recent labours of the East Roumelian Commission, observing that he feared that the Porte would never carry out the Articles which had been drawn up. I answered that I thought it was rather early to arrive at so desponding a conclusion. On the contrary, there was every reason to believe that they would shortly be put into operation, and that, consequently, it was the more desirable that the agitation which was said to prevail in Macedonia should cease.

Altogether, throughout the interview, the views expressed by the Metropolitan were conciliatory and tolerant, and, although he made no actual statement to that effect, his language and his manner implied that he would do what he could to prevent the outbreak of any movement.

In my conversation with M. Kessiakoff and Dr. Strauski I used the same arguments, and I have much pleasure in informing your Lordship that the language of these gentlemen was not less moderate than that of the Metropolitan. They spoke in equally warm terms of Her Majesty's Government and the English people, and they maintained that it was the desire of the Bulgarians to live in mutual fellowship with the other nationalities; to acquire, not only the good-will, but also the respect of Europe, and to live down the prejudice which existed in some minds against them. I said I trusted a practical proof would soon be given of these good intentions, adding that they were mistaken in thinking that there existed anywhere a prejudice against the Bulgarian people; it was the acts of some of them that had been condemned.

M. Kessiakoff then observed that he could not understand why Europe was so opposed to a Bulgarian union, and, on my not replying, he repeated the question.

Having, however, a suspicion that this observation was made with a view of eliciting from me some remarks respecting the policy of Russia in this peninsula, I avoided giving an answer by asking M. Kessiakoff to tell me what were, in his opinion, the advantages likely to accrue to the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia by such a union. "We know well," he replied, "that we would be the losers if the union were to take place now. All the risk would be run by us, and the Principality would reap the benefit. We look forward to a time when the union may be effected under better conditions."

Allusion being afterwards made to the Organic Statute, Dr. Strauski remarked that there were certain Articles in it which were fatal to the proper development of the country. They did their best to apply them, but he hoped after a few years, when the Bulgarians would have clearly shown that they were capable of good government, Europe would consent to revise them.

M. Kessiakoff and Dr. Strauski, as your Lordship is aware, have both been prominent members of the Gymnastic Societies.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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No. 565.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 337.)

*Philippopoli, September 17, 1880.*

My Lord,

THE rumour having reached me that military works were being carried on in the Balkans, under the supervision of Russian officers, I lost no time in seeking information on the subject.

I now learn from a reliable source that the officers sent by the Russian Government to make arrangements and select sites for certain monuments to be erected in the province and in Bulgaria, in memory of the late war, have recently visited some of the Balkan passes, where they have taken surveys.

As far as I can learn, however, no works of the nature reported have been undertaken.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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No. 566.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 338. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Philippopoli, September* 18, 1880.

FROM information I have received, it appears that Monseigneur Vanetelli, Papal Nuncio at Constantinople, has lately had a confidential interview with the Bulgarian Exarch, in which he suggested that the Bulgarian Church should declare its adhesion to Rome.

Mgr. Vanetelli pointed out, I am told, the little scope a Russian Protectorate afforded the Exarch, in consequence of the claims of the Greek Church, which would always be given priority in the East by the St. Petersburgh Synod. He told his Beatitude that the Pope did not wish to interfere in the ritual or management of the Bulgarian Church. He only desired to be its protector. I am informed that the Exarch replied evasively, saying that it was impossible for him to take any action in the matter unless there were distinct signs that such a step would be popular among the Bulgarian clergy.

I, moreover, learn from an Austrian source, which I believe to be reliable, that the Emperor of Austria lately expressed himself in favour of the proposal to the Papal Nuncio at Vienna.

On returning the other day the visit the Metropolitan had lately paid me, I tried to gather whether his Eminence knew anything on the subject. He was evidently not altogether ignorant of what had taken place, as he pointedly remarked in the course of conversation that the Catholics had been very active of late at Constantinople and in the province, adding that the Bulgarian Church wished to be entirely independent.

I avoided asking him any direct question, having been requested not to mention the matter to any one here.

If I may venture to offer an opinion, I would say that there was very little, if, indeed, any, chance of the Bulgarian clergy of Eastern Roumelia approving such a step.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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No. 567.

*Mr. Stephen to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 340. Secret and Confidential.)

My Lord, *Philippopoli, September* 18, 1880.

A GENTLEMAN in the confidence of the Governor-General informed me to-day that his Excellency is so down-hearted ("abattu") at the state of affairs in the province, and at the little regard which is paid to his authority and wishes, that he seriously meditates tendering his resignation to the Sultan. He, moreover, stated that his Excellency is much disappointed at the little support that is given him by the Signatory Powers, who must be aware, he declares, of his inability to cope singly with the influence which Russia exerts in Eastern Roumelia. My informant added that matters had now reached such a point that the Governor-General's dignity was at stake; and as a proof of the false position in which his Excellency was placed, he referred to the case of the Russian non-commissioned officers, which I have already fully reported to your Lordship in my telegram No. 84 and my despatches Nos. 325 and 334 of the 27th ultimo and the 11th instant. Other incidents, he said, had occurred which still further demonstrated the improper and abnormal position assumed by the Russian Consulate, and he instanced the arbitrary conduct of Prince Tzeretelew in the case of Varsili Ivanoff, reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 333 of the 9th September. He, moreover, quoted the fact that, although the exequatur granted by the Sublime Porte to the Consular Agent (about to be appointed by the Russian Government at Slivno) distinctly stipulated that the official nominated should not be a native, the Russian Consul-General, in opposition to his Excellency's protestations, had started a few days ago for Slivno to officially instal a Roumeliote (named Boeff) in that post. His Excellency finding, therefore, that his position was becoming untenable, was preparing to resign.

Believing that the resignation of the Governor-General at the present moment would be particularly unfortunate, and the effects of it perhaps very serious, I thought it my duty to urge my informant, in whose opinion the Governor-General places especial trust,



to use his best efforts to dissuade his Excellency from taking any hasty step. I told him, moreover, that I thought his Excellency was quite mistaken in thinking that the European Powers were indifferent to what was going on in Eastern Roumelia. As regards Her Majesty's Government, I could assure him that they took the liveliest interest in the general state of the province, adding that a signal proof had been given of this by the mission recently confided to Colonel Wilson.

My informant replied that he had done, and was doing, what he could to dissuade the Governor-General from resigning. He had even induced his Excellency to keep back till the next post a private letter, which the latter had already addressed to Said Pasha, exposing his position, and announcing the course he proposed to take.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

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No. 568.

*Consul Freeman to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 3. Political. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Serajevo, September* 20, 1880.

HAVING made careful inquiries since my return to my post as to the present condition of this province, the feelings of the people, the administration of government, and the state of commerce and agriculture, I beg now to lay before your Lordship, as briefly as is consistent with a clear exposition of affairs, the information I have obtained.

Politically speaking, perfect tranquillity reigns throughout Bosnia and the Herzegovina. There is still a certain amount of brigandage in the country, especially in the Sandjaks of Bihać and Banjaluka; but one can hardly expect it to be otherwise after five years of war and insurrection, and time will be required to restore complete security throughout the province. The small armed bands, however, that from time to time make their appearance, and attack and rob travellers or isolated houses, have no political significance whatever.

As regards the disposition of the population towards the existing Government, I do not hesitate to say that Mussulmans and Jews, Catholics and Christians of the Orthodox faith, all alike, from the highest to the lowest, regret the Turkish Government. The abuses of the Administration were doubtless great, the officials were corrupt, the welfare of the people was not considered, and nothing was done for the material improvement of the country; but the population, of whatever class or denomination, positively declare that matters are no better under Austrian rule. Corruption, bribery, and favoritism are as rife as ever, taxation is heavier, the administration of justice has been rendered more tedious and complicated, nothing has been yet done for the material prosperity of the country, and trade and commerce are ruined.

This may appear a heavy indictment against the Austrian Government, but I do not think that it is an exaggerated one. I make it in no hostile spirit, for I always favoured the idea of an Austrian occupation as the one and only solution possible of the Eastern question in these provinces; and, in spite of the ill-success, so far, of the measure, I am still of opinion that it was the best arrangement that could be made. The evils that have attended it are all remediable; but, first of all, it is of the highest importance that the occupation assume a more permanent character than at present, and extend also to the whole Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, which is as essentially Bosnia as any other part of the province, and should never have been detached.

Everything here is provisional, and consequently few good employés will accept posts in the civil Administration. With very few exceptions—exceptions that could almost be counted by units—we have nothing here but the scum of the Austrian official world, and bribery is as important a factor as ever in the arrangement of any matter with the Government.

As regards taxation, in the time of the Turkish Government the whole caza, or district of Serajevo, for instance, did not pay much over 2,000,000 piastres annually in taxes of every kind, whereas now the municipal dues alone of this town amount to about that sum. If the money were well spent it would, although a heavy burden on the town, be paid more willingly, but as there is really nothing to show for it, and the peculation of the municipal authorities is patent to everybody, it is difficult to justify such heavy dues, and it is not astonishing that the people murmur. The streets are badly paved, and often ankle-deep in mud during winter; the lighting is defective and insufficient; the drains and sewers are out of repair, indeed, some quarters of the town are

devoid of anything of the kind; there is no suitable building for a town-hall, and yet at the present moment no less than 30,000 florins are being expended on a slaughter-house, a very good thing in its way, but not of such immediate necessity that other more important works should be neglected for it, and the result will probably be that meat, which has already risen more than 200 per cent. in price since the Austrian occupation, will become even still dearer. The members of the Municipal Council declare that they are not free to act as they wish, but have to do as they are ordered by the Austrian authorities, and yet the latter disclaim all purpose or desire to interfere with municipal rights. The present members were not elected by the townspeople, but were arbitrarily nominated by the Local Government.

Concerning the local Tribunals, I hear but one opinion—that it is impossible to get any affair settled and finished. Whether this merely arises from the Austrian procedure being highly intricate and protracted, or whether it is caused, as is generally said, by an absence of integrity and straightforwardness, I am hardly prepared to state, but certainly when one considers the immense number of officials in this as, indeed, in all other branches of the Administration, compared to what there were under the Turkish Government, it seems astonishing that there is not more expedition in the conduct of affairs. Two cases that have come more immediately under my own notice certainly bear out the character for dilatoriness acquired by the Tribunals here.

The first is that of the British subject Abdal Hamid, residing at Banjaluka, who had a long and complicated mercantile lawsuit in the time of the Turkish Government, with a certain Hadji Hamid. Decision was finally given in favour of the former, and Hadji Hamid was sentenced to pay to him over 80,000 piastres, the sentence being confirmed on appeal by the "Mejlissi Temiz-i-Hukkuk" of Serajevo. The Austrian occupation then supervened, the sentence was recognized by the Austrian Courts as perfectly valid, and yet up to the present moment, after a lapse of two years, and in spite of repeated applications to the Local Government, I have not succeeded in getting this sentence executed.

The next case is that of a certain Sefri Effendi, who had always been employed at this Consulate since its establishment in 1856 as Turkish scribe. He was owed about 7,000 piastres by a Turk, who left Bosnia at the time of the Austrian occupation. This latter was also indebted to the "Itam Sandik," or Government Orphans' Chest. Some house property he had in Serajevo was therefore sold by public auction, and after deduction from the sum realized of the amount owing to the Orphans' Chest, the remainder, or a portion of the remainder as the case might be, was allotted to Sefri Effendi, whose claim was recognized as valid. Three months have elapsed since then, and yet Sefri Effendi, who is reduced to the direst poverty, having, with the entry of the Austrians into Bosnia, lost his employment of scribe and teacher, cannot obtain his money. I myself have repeatedly supported his demand; payment is always promised in a day or two, and the delay is quite inexplicable.

I now, lastly, come to the state of trade and commerce, which has probably never been so bad as at the present moment. For this, however, the Austrian authorities are hardly to blame, but it is the unfortunate result of the Austrian occupation. In the first place, the Mussulmans, who are the wealthiest portion of the inhabitants, and who always lived more liberally than their Christian fellow-countrymen, now only spend what is absolutely necessary for their existence. Their sole thought appears to be to put by money, and although, with few exceptions, they have neither left nor intend to leave the country, they avail of any opportunity that offers of selling house, land, and other property. They are doubtful as to the future, and they think it well to have a stock of ready cash for any emergency. Then the ruinous prices which the necessaries of life have reached, and the losses entailed by the great fire which occurred last year in this town, have obliged most of the inhabitants of Serajevo to curtail their expenses in every possible way. Another reason of the falling off of the trade of this town is the separation from the province of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar.

Formerly the sandjak supplied its wants almost exclusively from Serajevo, whereas now it obtains all it requires from Salonica as more easy of access, and also to avoid the payment of customs dues. Wool, cattle, and other products of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, which previously were exported to Austria viâ Serajevo, also reach Bosnia now in very small quantities. Then, again, the trade of the native merchants has been ruined by the immense influx of Austrian speculators, mostly men without capital or substance, and who become bankrupt a few months after their arrival. But this does not seem to deter others from coming. If one fails his place is instantly taken by another, who, in his turn, fails likewise. Even formerly there were almost too many merchants and shopkeepers for the trade of the place, and now the number is out of all proportion to the



wants of the inhabitants. But there is yet another drawback to honest and successful trade. Hitherto all trade between the wealthy merchants and large importers of foreign goods on the one side, and retail dealers and small provincial merchants on the other, has been carried on on credit. For several years past, even before the occupation, business was so bad that it was difficult to give or obtain long credit, and now the lengthy procedure in the local Courts in all cases of money reclamations renders it almost impossible to work on credit at all.

No attempt has yet been made to develop the great mineral resources of the country, and from what I hear I fancy that there is no desire even to do so, as it is feared that the working of the mines in Bosnia might be prejudicial to the mining interests of other parts of the Austrian Empire.

Undoubtedly the bad state of trade and the present excessive cost of living in this province have great influence on the people's feelings towards the present régime. Nothing is so conducive to political contentment as material well-being. But, apart from this, the acts of the officials here are not always well-advised, or calculated to gain the sympathies of the population. I will, before concluding, cite a couple of instances which have produced considerable ill-feeling.

A certain Haidar Bey Cengic, a rich landed proprietor, who left the country at the time of the Austrian occupation, sold the "tretina," or third of the produce paid annually by the peasants to their "Agas" or landlords, of one of his farms near Serajevo to an Austrian Jew. This, in the first place, is contrary to the express stipulations of the Turkish Law of the 14th Sefer, 1276, which regulates the relations between Aga and Kmet, and should not have been allowed by the Austrian authorities. One family of Kmets on this farm, consisting of three brothers, was this summer turned off, and the Jew who had farmed the tretina refused, therefore, to give him his share of the hay crop. The matter came before the Kaïmakam of Serajevo, and it was decided that the peasants should only retain sufficient hay to pay them for mowing and drying the crop. Dissatisfied, and with good reason, with this arbitrary arrangement of the difficulty, they refused to give up the remainder of the hay to the Jew, who therefore proceeded to the farm with two gendarmes to enforce the decision of the Kaïmakam. The brothers offered some resistance; they were fired on by the gendarmes, one was killed on the spot, a second severely wounded, and the third brought to Serajevo and imprisoned. As he was being led by the kounk he made a great noise, calling down curses on the Austrians, who had only come, he said, to hand them over from Turkish to Jewish Agas. The gendarmes were no doubt, according to Austrian law, justified in firing on the peasants. The question is whether the decision of the Kaïmakam were just; but it has produced a great deal of bad feeling towards the Government, as Turkish zaptiehs would never have dared have recourse to their arms except in an extreme case.

The next instance is that of an ill-advised act which has given great offence to the Mussulmans of this town. A piece of ground, bought some years ago by the Austrian Government, on which to build a residence for the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bosnia, has been taken this year as site for an officers' club-house and garden. It was therefore necessary to find another suitable piece of ground for the Bishop's residence. The choice fell on an open space near the entry of the town, called the "Musala," or "Namasgh-yar," which is Vacouf property, and, as its name implies, a place set apart by the Mussulmans for public prayer. Had it been taken for the construction of barracks, a hospital, or some other public building, they would not have objected so strongly; but appropriating one of their places of worship on which to build a residence for a Catholic Bishop has highly incensed them. There are other equally eligible sites for the purpose and anxious as the Austrians are known to be to gain the good-will of the Mahommedan population, such an ill-judged act appears quite inexplicable.

The relations of Aga and Kmet (landlord and peasant) appear, I am glad to say, to be somewhat more satisfactory than last year, as the latter are gradually becoming convinced that they must duly pay the "tretina" or third part of the produce of the land to their Agas, pending a definite settlement of the Agrarian question. The chief difficulty for the moment is the payment of arrears. The harvest has been abundant, and an unusual breadth of land was cultivated in many districts; but it is impossible for the peasants to pay off all the arrears accumulated during the past two years.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 569.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 915. Extender.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 28, 1880.*

BARON DE COURCEL showed me this morning a telegram from Admiral Lafont to the French Ministry of Marine, dated Gravosa, 2 P.M. yesterday, which stated that the Prince of Montenegro accepted the situation, but that before exposing himself to an action which would lead to a real conflict with the Turkish troops, His Highness felt obliged to beg the Great Powers to inform him whether, in this conflict, he could count upon their political and military assistance, which would be more efficacious than that of a naval demonstration confined within the actual limits.

M. de Courcel said that the French Government were very anxious to know what Her Majesty's Government proposed to do with reference to the above communication from the Prince of Montenegro, and he called my attention to the paragraph towards the end of the modified instructions to the Admirals, which refers to the eventuality of the Prince of Montenegro failing to comply with the invitation of the Powers to advance his troops.

I told M. de Courcel that the latest intelligence I had received was that, at a conference of the Admirals held yesterday, it was decided to ask for and await further instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 570.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 917.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 28, 1880.*

MR. GOSCHEN, in his telegram No. 260 of yesterday to your Lordship, suggests that I might furnish Her Majesty's Government with the French text of the new collective note drawn up by the Representatives in Constantinople in answer to the last Turkish note on the Montenegrin question.

I have obtained from Baron de Courcel, and I have the honour to transmit herewith, a copy of that part of M. Tissot's telegram of yesterday to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire which gives the required text.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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Inclosure in No. 570.

*Extract of Telegram from M. Tissot to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.*

(Après l'accusé de réception.)

LES Soussignés auraient à faire de sérieuses réserves quant aux inexactitudes contenues dans la partie de ce document qui a trait à l'histoire des négociations. Ils s'abstiennent de les formuler, et, bien qu'ils aient également le droit de relever certaines expressions qui leur prouvent que la Porte n'a pas un sentiment exact de sa situation vis-à-vis des Puissances, ils préfèrent passer sur la forme insolite de la communication de son Excellence Assim Pacha, et répondre immédiatement aux conclusions qui la résument.

Les Puissances ne se sont proposé qu'un seul but dans le courant de cette négociation: celui d'obtenir du Gouvernement Ottoman l'exécution du Traité de Berlin. C'est dans l'espoir de faciliter à la Porte l'accomplissement de ses obligations qu'elle ont consenti à modifier à deux reprises les conditions de ce Traité relativement à la délimitation de la frontière Monténégrine. Le Gouvernement Ottoman n'a pas su s'acquitter des engagements qu'il avait contractés. Les Puissances protestent donc unanimement contre les résistances qu'il oppose à leur légitime demande, et font peser sur lui toute la responsabilité des conséquences qui peuvent en résulter.

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No. 571.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 918.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 28, 1880.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 103 and to my despatch No. 908 of yesterday, and to your Lordship's telegram No. 508 of yesterday evening, I informed Baron de Courcel to-day that the Russian Ambassador in London had communicated to your Lordship the telegram from Livadia as to the advisability of an unanimous protest of the Powers at Constantinople, the text of which is contained in my above-mentioned despatch.

I added that the Russian Ambassador had said that he considered the idea of making this protest, casting responsibility on the Porte, to have been anticipated by the collective note presented yesterday to the Porte, and in which a similar expression occurs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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No. 572.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received September 29.)*

(Confidential.)
My Lord, *Admiralty, September 29, 1880.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 25th instant, from Gravosa, continuing his report as to the state of matters up to that date.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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Inclosure in No. 572.

*Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)
Sir, *"Alexandra," at Gravosa, September 25, 1880.*

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on Wednesday, the 22nd instant, having received a telegram from Mr. Kirby Green, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Scutari, reporting that his family had left that town, and that the notice sent to him on the 17th, calling upon the Consuls of the Powers to place themselves and their families in a place of safety had been delivered to them, I summoned a Conference of the Representatives of the parties to the Treaty of Berlin to assemble on board the "Alexandra," at which it was decided that I should proceed to Cettinjé to be in readiness to receive the answer, which Rizn Pasha would deliver to Captain Lord Walter Kerr at Scutari on Thursday, the 23rd instant, and which would be brought to me at Cettinjé on the same evening.

2. A discussion took place as to the measures to be adopted in the event of the Pashas of Scutari and Dulcigno declining to cede the town and district of that name to Montenegro, and of the Prince of Montenegro being prepared and willing to occupy them by force.

3. It was our unanimous decision that under no circumstances should a shot be fired which would endanger the lives of the inhabitants of Dulcigno, but that if it unfortunately should become necessary to support the Montenegrin advance by the fire of the shipping, such fire should be directed on the entrenchments and redoubts on the Mazura heights, on those on the hills north of Dulcigno, and, if necessary, on the fortress of Dulcigno, which stands on rising ground clear of the town.

4. Previous to the latter decision being arrived at, Rear-Admiral Lafont, commanding the French squadron, stated that his instructions forbade him to open fire under any circumstances, but that he would give me the moral support of the French flag, by accompanying the ships of the united Powers in the demonstration off Dulcigno.

5. It was further decided that the demonstration, if necessary, should be made by the entire squadrons prior to any hostile measures being taken.

6. Just as the Conference was about to terminate, a very important telegram reached me from Mr. Kirby Green, dated Scutari, 21st September, 5 P.M., in which he reported that Riza Pasha had informed him (after stating that no instructions for the cession of Dulcigno had yet reached him) that, if the Montenegrins or anybody else attempted to take possession of the east part of the Turkish territory, which he still considered Dulcigno to be, before the issue of the order from the Porte, he would, as Ottoman Commandant, oppose them with his troops. I furnished each of my colleagues with a copy of this telegram.

7. At 2 A.M. on Thursday, the 23rd instant, I left Gravosa in the "Helicon," accompanied by Captain Sale, R.E., Her Majesty's Commissioner to Montenegro, and Lieutenant the Honourable Hedworth Lambton, and arriving at Cattaro five hours later, I left for Cettinjé. At 9 A.M., horses and an escort having been sent by the Prince of Montenegro, who received me on our arrival with every possible honour.

8. A house opposite the Palace was assigned to us, and at 5 I had a preliminary interview with the Prince, in which I informed him that although I had not as yet received the official reply to the summons which had been addressed to Riza Pasha, I had every reason to know that it would be tantamount to a refusal; and, further, that any attempt to occupy the town and district of Dulcigno would be met by a determined opposition on the part of the Turkish as well as of the Albanian force. I also told him that if my surmises as to the nature of Riza Pasha's answer should prove correct, it would be my duty to ascertain from His Highness whether he was prepared to take possession of the district of Dulcigno by military means, to which he replied that he was. I then pointed out to His Highness, in the presence of Captain Sale, who was present throughout all my interviews with him, the extreme gravity of the step which he professed himself ready to take; that the Turkish troops were not to be despised; that fighting them in addition to the Albanians involved grave consequences; and that the support that the fleet could give him would be of little moment. To all this he answered that he was prepared to occupy the district by military means, whether he had to contend with the Albanians alone or with them supported by the Turkish regulars; that, in accordance with the wishes of the Powers, his army had been ready since the 13th instant, and that he deprecated any further delay. He admitted that any attempt of his to possess himself of the territory, if resisted by the Turkish authorities, involved a *casus belli* with the Porte, but that he was confident that the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin would not allow him to suffer by his action in the matter.

In fact, his whole manner and bearing convinced me of the earnestness of his belief in the justice of his cause and in his prospect of success. I then took my leave. Captain Lord Walter Kerr reached Cettinjé at 6 P.M., with Riza Pasha's answer to my summons.

Their Lordships will perceive, by the copy of it which I inclose, that he distinctly declines to cede the district without orders from the Porte. This was his official reply; but he had told Captain Lord Walter Kerr, when that officer had an interview with him, that it was his intention to repel by force any attempt either on the part of the Montenegrins or of others to occupy the district or town of Dulcigno. Later in the evening I communicated the substance of this reply to the Prince of Montenegro; and on the following morning, at 9 A.M., a Conference took place between His Highness the Prince, General Bosio Petrovich, Commander-in-chief of the Montenegrin army, and M. Radonich, Councillor of State, and myself and Captain Sale, R.E., as Representatives of the Powers, as to the means to be adopted in carrying out the instructions under which I am acting. It was arranged that, after having conferred with my colleagues at Gravosa, and should they consent thereto, I should address a requisition to His Highness, calling on him to take military possession of the district and town of Dulcigno, but that in order to prevent further loss of time I should be accompanied to Gravosa by a confidential Agent of the Prince, M. Voucovich, to whom I should communicate the result of the Conference, which he would immediately telegraph in cypher to his Sovereign.

Many details were then gone into, and at 11 A.M., the 24th (yesterday), I left Cettinjé, where I had been treated with the utmost courtesy by His Highness and all his subjects.

Having left Cattaro in the "Helicon," at 4 P.M., this day, I arrived at Gravosa five hours later; and at 1 P.M. the several Admirals and Captain Valois, representing the Signatory Powers, assembled on board the "Alexandra," at my request, where, having submitted to them a statement of all that had passed at Cettigné, and also the telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, copy inclosed, I requested them to give me their opinions on the course to be pursued. They were unanimous with me in considering that the course of action was the only one which could be taken, but, at the



suggestion of the Italian Admiral, it was decided that a letter should be dispatched to Riza Pasha, calling on him to remove his troops from the right bank of the Boyana River. This has been done; and, as at present arranged, the fleet will leave Gravosa on the afternoon of Monday, the 27th instant, be off Antivari the following morning, making the demonstration off Dulcigno later in the day (which will be the signal for the Montenegrins to march to their frontier, and on Wednesday, should no change take place in the determination of the Porte, an appeal to arms will be made; the Montenegrins will attack Goritza and the Mazura heights, and the ships will afford them every support that can be given them, one division protecting the right flank of the Montenegrin advance, a second taking the entrenchments on the Mazura heights in reverse from the Val de Cruce Bay, and the third occupying the attention of the forces stationed on the heights north of Dulcigno, and in the old fortress of that name.

9. Their Lordships are aware that I am quite sensible of the grave responsibility which I incur by taking a step which to me appears inevitable.

I confidently rely on their support should they be pleased to approve of my having acted as I do, in the firm conviction that no other course is open to me.

10. In conclusion, I beg leave to add that I have received the most cordial support from all my colleagues in every measure that I have proposed to take in the matter.

11. Copies of correspondence bearing on the subject of this letter are attached.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 572.

*Riza Pasha to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

Excellence, *Scutari, d'Albanie, le 21 Septembre*, 1880.

LE Soussigné a l'honneur d'accuser réception de la copie de la dépêche que votre Excellence a bien voulu adresser au Gouverneur-Général de Scutari, concernant la remise de la ville et du district de Dulcigno sans délai.

En réponse, le Soussigné s'empresse d'informer votre Excellence que les résultats des pourparlers entre le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman et les Hautes Puissances pour les conditions de la remise de Dulcigno au Monténégro, ne lui étant pas, jusqu'à présent, parvenus, il se fera un devoir, dès qu'elles lui seront connues, de procéder à l'exécution des ordres précis qui lui seront donnés par le Ministère dont il relève.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) RIZA,

*Commandant-en-chef de la Division Militaire à Scutari.*

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Inclosure 3 in No. 572.

*Riza Pasha to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Translation.)

Noble Admiral,

Your Excellency, *Scutari*, 17 *Shaval*, 1297* (*September* $\frac{9}{21}$, 1880).

YOUR letter addressed to the Military Commandant of Dulcigno has been received. Dulcigno is under my command, and the Commandant there being my Lieutenant, the answer he would give to your communication would be an exact copy of the reply below, a translation of which I have sent to your Excellency, annexed to the letter of Osman Pasha, Governor-General of the Vilayet of Scutari.

I beg therefore that you will consider that as the reply of the Commandant of Dulcigno; and I take this opportunity of assuring you of my most profound respect.

(Signed) RIZA,

*Commander-in-chief of the Scutari Division, and Aide-de-camp to His Majesty the Sultan.*

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I have received a copy of the note which was sent to the Governor-General of Scutari with regard to the surrender of Dulcigno without delay. I hasten to inform your Excellency, in reply, that, as the conditions of the surrender of Dulcigno are being at

* 1296 *in orig.*

present discussed between the Porte and the Great Powers, and as also I have not been made acquainted with the result of their decision, I shall in this matter act in accordance with the precise orders which I shall receive from the authority on which I depend; and I take this opportunity of assuring you of my highest esteem.

(Signed) RIZA,
*Commander-in-chief of the Scutari Division, and Aide-de-camp to His Majesty the Sultan.*

*Scutari, September* $\frac{9}{21}$, 1880.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 572.

*Osman Pasha to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

*Scutari, le 22 Septembre*, 1880.

Excellence,

M. LE Lord Walter Kerr, Officier de l'Escadre de Sa Majesté Britannique, m'a remis la lettre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 17 courant, concernant la remise de Dulcigno sans délai aux autorités de Monténégro.

En réponse, j'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que je me suis empressé d'en référer au Gouvernement de la Sublime Porte, et que jusqu'à l'arrivée des instructions aucune mesure ne saurait être prise en conséquence.

Veuillez, &c.
Le Gouverneur-Général,
(Signé) OSMAN.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 572.

*Riza Pasha to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

*Scutari, le 23 Septembre*, 1880.

Excellence,

J'AI reçu la lettre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 17 courant, pour m'informer qu'elle me considérerait responsable des malheurs qui pourraient arriver à MM. les Consuls à Scutari à la suite des opérations militaires que votre Excellence pourrait faire à Dulcigno.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman a soumis à l'approbation des Six Hautes Puissances trois conditions formant la base de la cession et de l'évacuation de Dulcigno; or, je considérerai comme un acte d'hostilité toute opération militaire qui serait faite à Dulcigno et à ses environs avant que les pourparlers certains entre la Sublime Porte et les Hautes Puissances aboutissent à un résultat, et avant que des nouvelles instructions me fussent parvenues.

En outre, j'ai l'honneur d'ajouter que je laisse dès à présent la responsabilité de tous les malheurs et inconvénients qui peuvent se produire à la suite d'un empiétement si injuste des droits, à la partie qui les aura provoqués.

Et en dernier lieu je me vois en devoir de déclarer à votre Excellence qu'il me serait difficile de garantir la sûreté de MM. les Consuls et de leurs familles à Scutari dans le cas que des opérations militaires dont parle votre Excellence auraient lieu, et qui causeraient, je le suppose, des troubles en cette ville.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) RIZA,
*Commandant-en-chef de la Division Militaire à Scutari.*

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Inclosure 6 in No. 572.

*Mr. Goschen to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Telegraphic.) *September* 23, 1880.

FROM my despatch to Lord Granville of the 23rd instant and his reply to you of the same date, I may confidently inform you that nothing is occurring here which would make delay advisable.

The Sultan and the Porte continue to refuse to surrender Dulcigno except on conditions which the Powers cannot accept.

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No. 573.

*Mr Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 263.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 28, 1880, 11·30 P.M.

WITH reference to collective note presented yesterday, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Under-Secretary, on reading it, were greatly dismayed at its uncompromising language, and begged German First Dragoman who brought it to take it back. He naturally refused. Under-Secretary came up to German Embassy last night to work on him to endeavour to induce colleagues to show some conciliation. The note had not been shown to the Sultan. German Ambassador asked whether he came officially. On his replying in the negative, German Ambassador stated that he could say nothing. Under-Secretary returned to-day, stating that he came by order of the Sultan. He first said that the Ministers had not dared to show Sultan the note, but had generally communicated its contents. Under-Secretary then (unofficially) made a verbal declaration to the German Ambassador, as Doyen, communicated in my following telegram, No. 264.

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No. 574.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 264.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 28, 1880, 11·55 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 263, following is the verbal declaration made in the name of the Sultan by Under-Secretary to German Ambassador:—

"The Sultan, desiring to give a signal proof of his determination to execute at once the engagements devolving on the Porte from the Treaty of Berlin, has decided to settle definitively the questions connected with it by Sunday, the 3rd October, at latest. His Majesty hopes that the settlement of these questions, a settlement which will be communicated to the Powers within the above term, will be of a character to satisfy them.

"In view of this categorical resolve, His Majesty hopes that the Powers will not make the intended naval demonstration. He thinks at the same time that there will be no further object in the protest last made by the Representatives of the Powers. The Council of Ministers will meet to-day at the Palace to consider this settlement."

The Under-Secretary was also charged by His Majesty to request German Ambassador to take back last collective note, embodying the protest. The latter replied that he could not accede to this wish.

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No. 575.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 265.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September* 28, 1880, 11·58 P.M.

WITH reference to my last two telegrams, we meet to-morrow to discuss situation. The blow dealt by the Powers in categorically refusing conditions put forward by the Porte seems to have told, but the whole affair may be a fresh intrigue. Still, the hitch in Montenegro is very unfortunate.

I presume we shall be [? unanimous] that the collective note must not only not be taken back, but that it must be translated into Turkish and submitted to the Sultan.

The part played by Prime Minister is strange. He remains entirely in the background.

The Under-Secretary is Mahmoud Nedim Pasha's creature.

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No. 576.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29, 8 A.M.)*

(No. 136. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 28, 1880, 9·30 P.M.*

THE policy of abstention urged by the press, and the uneasiness manifested by some of the Representatives as to the consequences of a conflict at Dulcigno, greatly alarmed the Italian Government.

Count Maffei continues to adhere to his previous declarations, but does not appear to rely very confidently on Signor Cairoli's firmness.

I gather that General Menabrea, Count Maffei, and certain members of the Council advocate a more complete understanding with England. If Her Majesty's Government were disposed to entertain this idea, a suggestion from you through General Menabrea would have great weight with the Cabinet. The Government would thus be strengthened instead of weakened by its present somewhat subservient position.

The Italian Government appears now to be acting under certain neutral reserves [*sic*], and unless they can ascertain the intentions of Her Majesty's Government as to consequences of conflict, they will decline to go further than what they consider the prescribed limit.

Press telegrams announce that the attack on Dulcigno will be led by England and Italy. This will, I fear, be unfavourably noticed by the press, and add to hesitation of the Government.

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No. 577.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29, 2·30 P.M.)*

(No. 137.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, September 29, 1880, 1·30 P.M.*

COUNT CORTI has been instructed to discuss course to be pursued to prevail upon the Porte to put in force the new Organic Statute.

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No. 578.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 35. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, September 29, 1880.*

M. GAMBETTA has recommended Greek Government to make their preparations quietly, and assured them that the provinces will be certainly ceded to them before long; he said nothing, however, as to the means by which that result would be brought about.

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No. 579.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 17.)
(Telegraphic.) *Gravosa, September 29, 1880.*

I FORWARDED to your Lordship yesterday despatch containing full particulars of recent proceedings, with the text of the various documents. This should arrive on Friday next. No change here. The Admiral has arranged so that the three other ironclads can join him at three days' notice if necessary.

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No. 580.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29, 2 P.M.)*

(No. 181.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September 29, 1880.*

LEADING article in "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" to-day on refusal of Riza Pasha to evacuate Dulcigno, and on delay in action of fleets, recalls the want of good faith shown by Turkey, first in the matter of Gusinjé and Plava, secondly respecting cession of Lem, and now in Dulcigno affair. The article is hostile to Turks; it rejoices that now at last the game is to be played with cards on the table, and without any nonsense about the resistance of the Albanians, and says that whatever sacrifices the Powers may impose on Turkey will be eventually for her benefit, and also for that of the other Powers who wish to put an end to these ever-recurring questions in the East.



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No. 581.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 512.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 29, 1880, 3·10 P.M.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 917, French copy of collective note does not agree with version telegraphed by Goschen; answers to Porte's three conditions are omitted.

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No. 582.

*Lord Tenterden to Mr. Goschen.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 29, 1880, 7 P.M.*

MR. GLADSTONE, in Lord Granville's absence, desires me to tell you, with reference to your telegram No. 265 of yesterday, that the collective note cannot be withdrawn.

He is himself against any kind of drawing back.

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No. 583.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29, 11 P.M.)*

(No. 159.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 29, 1880, 6·25 P.M.*

A TELEGRAM has been received from Constantinople saying that the Sultan has promised that if allowed the time he would by Sunday next satisfy the Powers in respect to the Montenegrin frontier, and Baron Haymerle thinks that as, in view of the hesitation of the Prince of Montenegro, it would scarcely cause an appreciable delay, the Porte might be told that the time asked would be allowed.

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No. 584.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29, 11 P.M.)*

(No. 160.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 29, 1880, 6·25 P.M.*

AUSTRIAN Government have received the text of the communication from Riza Pasha to the Prince of Montenegro mentioned in Captain Sale's telegram No. 14.

In it the Pasha does not say that an advance by the Prince would be deemed act of war against Turkey, but that "he would consider as an act of hostility any military operation undertaken before the negotiations had led to a satisfactory result, and before the necessary orders had been received, and that he would be under the necessity of repelling force by force if the orders were not waited for."

Baron Haymerle considers this a very different thing from a declaration that the advance of the Montenegrins would establish a state of war.

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No. 585.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 29, 11 P.M.)

(No. 161.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 29, 1880, 6·25 P.M.

A TELEGRAM is being sent to the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople stating that, though the last note to the Porte had anticipated the Russian proposal for throwing all responsibility on it, the letter of Riza Pasha to the Prince of Montenegro made a further communication necessary.

Baron Calice is desired to concert with his colleagues in preparing a note calling upon the Porte to declare whether the Pasha was warranted in sending that letter, and begging it to give him orders more in conformity with the assurances of the Porte when he was sent to Scutari, desiring him to desist from interfering to prevent Montenegrin occupation of Dulcigno, and at least to withdraw his troops to the other side of the Boyana.

The telegram will be communicated to your Lordship by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

The great object of the Austrian Government at present seems to be to avoid a conflict with Turkish troops.

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No. 586.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 29, 11 P.M.)

(No. 162.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September* 29, 1880, 6 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 666 and 669, Baron Haymerle says that there are three points that should be kept steadily in view :—

1. To maintain a complete agreement among the Powers.
2. To avoid everything leading to war with Turkey.
3. Not to push the Prince to take steps which might entail upon him disastrous consequences against which the Powers would not be able to protect him.

This might occur if the Prince was defeated near Dulcigno and the Albanians took the opportunity of invading Montenegro.

Baron Haymerle expressed no further opinion, but he again said that, though the Powers were pledged to afford the Prince such assistance as could be given from the ships, they were pledged to nothing more, and he repeated emphatically that he would not be drawn into war with Turkey.

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No. 587.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1300. Extender.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 29, 1880.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 917 of the 28th instant, inclosing the French text of the collective note, drawn up by the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople, in answer to the last Turkish note on the Montenegrin question.

This version, however, does not agree with that telegraphed by Mr. Goschen, and the answers to the Porte's three conditions are entirely omitted.

I have drawn your attention to this fact by telegraph.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 588.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 101. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, September* 18, 1880.

REPORTS have reached here from Prisrend to the effect that the Albanian League in that part of North Albania has dismissed most of the local Kaimakams and Cadis,



and has telegraphed to the Porte declining to recognize the recent appointment of Hilmi Pasha to the Mutessarillik of Prisrend! This functionary has in consequence remained at Monastir, to which place he had gone to report himself to the Governor-General before taking up his office. I have seen one of the dismissed officials, a certain Cadri Bey, who was but recently appointed Kaimakam of Rahoftza, in the Sandjak of Prisrend. He assured me that the authority of the Porte in that province has been completely set aside; that the local Medjlisses have been suppressed; and that the general administration has been usurped by the League.

On the other hand, I learn from an English gentleman,* who has very recently visited Mitrovitza, that the new Vali of Cossova, the Ferik Osman Pasha, who has the reputation of being an energetic and determined officer, is gradually establishing some degree of order in his jurisdiction, and doing his utmost to uphold the influence and power of the Turkish authorities in that region.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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No. 589.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 102. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, September* 20, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, translated extract from a letter which I have received from Volo, containing news from that district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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Inclosure in No. 589.

*Extract from a Letter from Volo, dated September* 18, 1880.

(Translation.)

MR. VICE-CONSUL LONGWORTH returned to Larissa last week.

Captain Manega, on the Austro-Hungarian Military Staff, arrived here yesterday evening from Larissa.

He has visited Corfu, St. Maura, Prevesa, Janina, Metzovo, Tricalla, and Larissa, with the mission, I hear, of studying the proposed new Greek frontier.

Many Christian peasants from the plains of Thessaly, hearing that the Hellenic Government offered 50 drahmas a-month to volunteers, went to Greece to be enrolled, but, after serving one month on the frontier, the majority deserted, with arms and baggage, and returned to their homes.

Now it is said that the Hellenic Government, to prevent any further desertions, has removed all such volunteers into the interior. On the other hand, many young Greeks come here from Greece in order to escape military service. On the whole, I confess I do not observe much enthusiasm among the Greeks in these parts.

They want the country to be annexed to Greece, but are by no means willing to make any sacrifices for the purpose.

P.S.—Captain Manega will leave Volo for the Pireus by to-morrow's steamer.

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No. 590.

*Consul-General Blunt to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 104. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, September* 21, 1880.

I VERY much regret having to report to your Lordship that brigandage continues to prevail throughout Macedonia, and that no progress whatever has been made since the date of my last Report on the subject towards the repression of the evil.

* Mr. Fitzgerald, Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian."

The inclosed several extracts from correspondence from the interior exhibit generally the disturbed condition of the province.

In the districts conterminous to Bulgaria, and in other parts of the interior where the Bulgarian element is strong, there are secret agents and emissaries at work fostering a spirit of rebellion against the Sultan's Government. One of them has been apprehended in the Vilayet of Monastir.

At Kuprulu-Velessa and Perlepe, two districts where the Bulgarians outnumber the Mahommedans in the proportion of two to one, these emissaries have organized corps of "Avengers," who commit wanton acts of assassination in the open day upon the persons of Mahommedans, generally picking out Beys and landowners for victims.

The Mahommedan inhabitants of those districts are greatly alarmed and exasperated at the frequent recurrence of these outrages; and as the local authorities are very apathetic, and unable to provide effective protection owing to the reduced state of the regular troops in the province, and the disorganized condition of the police and temporary gendarmerie through want of pay and rations—the local treasury being bankrupt—there is an evident tendency on the part of the people to return evil for evil. Already several innocent Bulgarians have, I am assured, fallen victims to this spirit of retaliation; and I very much fear that unless special measures are promptly taken to meet the emergency, the danger of some serious disturbances will not pass away.

I transmit herewith to your Lordship a statement of murders and other crimes which have been perpetrated on the persons of Christians in the district of Perlepe between the 10th May and the 17th August last; also a further statement of the assassination of Mahommedans in the same district by the so-called corps of "Avengers" between the 20th July and the 9th instant.

These statements may be relied upon, as they have been prepared and furnished to me by an English gentleman who has visited the spot and inquired into the circumstances.

In the district of Kuprulu-Velessa during the last few weeks an unusually large number of murders has also been perpetrated. One informant stated to me the number of victims to be six Christians and twenty Mahommedans, but from a more moderate source I learn that the number does not exceed twenty in all, including the six Christians.

In the meantime, it is remarked that while the local authorities have arrested many Christians upon suspicion of being implicated in the murders of the Mahommedans, none of the murderers of the Christians have been prosecuted, although some of them are well known by the police.

I have spoken to the Governor-General on this deplorable state of affairs, and urged him to take it into his serious consideration.

He recognizes the grave nature of the situation, and has made up his mind to proceed to the spot to make an inquiry, and superintend measures for the preservation of order and tranquillity.

I also hear that Ahmet Eyoub Pasha, the Vali of Monastir, is making an inquiry into the state of Perlepe with a view to calm the excited feelings of the population.

I should not omit to report two serious acts of brigandage that have been committed in Macedonia within the last five weeks. The first and most worthy of notice occurred on the 27th August last at Melovista, a village about five hours from the town of Monastir.

The noted robber Chief Catarahia, with his gang of forty Greeks and Cara-katchans Wlachs, entered the village, and, after slaughtering two women who attempted to make some resistance, carried off into the neighbouring mountains no less than nine of the leading inhabitants, for whose release he demands heavy ransoms.

The second act was perpetrated on the 14th instant at Kovanza, a "tchiftlik" (estate) half-way between the villages of Sinokviza and Negranza, and about three hours from the railway station of Gheygheli.

Panayotti Caloyeros, another notorious Greek Klepht, at the head of thirty brigands, the greater part of them Greeks, attacked the estate and carried off its proprietor, Hadji Ibrahim Agha, his son, the son of his steward, and two other Turks who were on a visit there.

I now learn that Ibrahim Agha has been released for the purpose of coming here to procure the large sum of 4,000*l.* Caloyeros demands for his captives; and this ransom money is required to be forthcoming within twenty-one days on pain of the forfeiture of the lives of the unfortunate captives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 590.

*Extract from the "Hermes" (Greek Newspaper, published at Salonica) of August 21, 1880.*

(Translation.)

THEY write to us from Gheygheli[1]:—

The oppression and losses caused to the inhabitants of the Diocese of Moglenon by the Albanians sent in pursuit of brigandage are daily increasing. These at the beginning were forty in number, having as Chief a Turco-Albanian Mulazim from Yenidjeh. To these have already been added 250, under the leadership of the Binbashi of Yenidjeh.

Instead of pursuing the brigands, according to the orders they have received, they go from village to village, taking by violence flocks, food, and raki. On the 6th August they went all at once to a fold situated on a hill of Karadjova called "Hadjibaritza," and after unmercifully beating the shepherds, whom they accused of supporting the brigands (without having any proof about it), they sent them away, keeping only two lads for their personal service. Becoming thus the masters of the flocks and of all the things belonging to the shepherds, they caused great damages.

All these are related with tears by those sent from Houma to Koutsko, who saw them with their own eyes, and who were afterwards sent here by the Binbashi in order to bring them 120 okes of bread. Worse than these were committed the day before among another flock. On account of all these evils and their own penury, the inhabitants of the villages are unable to support themselves, and therefore await in deep despair help and mercy from the Government.

The woodcutters of the district of Karadjova, not being able to bear all these evils, have resolved to put a stop to their work.

Lately a large number of Bulgarian Church books were sent from here to Houma! The Primates of this village wishing, therefore, more forcibly to demonstrate that they were not in want of Bulgarian books, burned them.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 590.

*Extract from a Letter from Consul-General Blunt's Correspondent in the District of Cassandra.*

*August* 24, 1880.

DURING the last three months many occasions have arisen for the indulgence of the innocent proclivities of the inhabitants of many villages in the way of being accomplices of the numerous bands of brigands which for this period have been infesting the whole district.

Scarcely a day passes without intelligence of the presence and doings of these pests of the country.

It is, of course, impossible for brigands to exist without having some person to supply them with provisions and ammunition, and also to give them information of the movements of troops and of persons profitable for capture. As brigands, in order to elude the possibility of being taken, must constantly be moving from place to place, they must necessarily have agents and accomplices in every village. As a proof of this I may state that I know of accomplices in this place and at Vrasta, a village two and a-half hours from here. The *modus vivendi* of the brigands is to capture some wealthy person and then to demand a ransom, which is almost invariably paid, after which the prisoner is released, and the brigands disappear for a time.

Although large numbers of gendarmes and regular troops are employed in the *soi-disant* search for the different bands of brigands, as yet but one individual has been killed. This occurred at Larigova.

The officer in command of the men who shot this brigand has been severely reprimanded by the Commandant, and sent to the farther end of the Cassandra promontory, in order to be out of the way.

Besides the accomplices in every village, it is a matter of grave doubt whether some of the Government officials who are supposed to suppress brigandage are not concerned in screening these malefactors. It is a fact that an officer of gendarmes, an Albanian, recently openly accused the Kaimakam of Polyghero of giving the brigands notice each time that the troops were ordered out against them.

Whether this be true or not, little faith can be put in those whose duty it is to

[1] Gheygheli, a small township in the district of Avrei-Hisar, in Macedonia.

suppress crime in this district, as little can be expected from such a man as the head of the police of Polyghero, who, at the time of the massacre of the Consuls at Salonica, opened, it is said, all the powder-shops, and gave the crowd cartridges and bullets.

To say the least of it, it certainly seems strange that so large a number of troops should succeed in capturing but one brigand. In conversation with the men, both of the gendarmes and Nizams, I find that they are of opinion that their superiors have no desire that the brigands be caught, and there is a great deal of indignation felt on the subject in the ranks.

From what I can gather it appears there are four bands of brigands in the Cassandra district between Mount Athos and Larigova. Two of them, by the description I have received, seem to be composed of Hellenes, one of Albanians, and the other of men indigenous to the country. The two former are probably tools of the Greek Government for the fomenting of disturbances in these parts.

I have been told that Greek revolutionary agents have visited several villages in the district, but have met with very little encouragement. The universal reply to their inducements is that the last time the inhabitants of Macedonia rose, they gained nothing, but were massacred and hung by the Turks for so doing, and that now they are perfectly indifferent which way matters go; if the Turks are to be their masters they are content, and if the Greeks are to rule them it is the same, but fight they will not.

In fact, I do not see why they should fight, as they seem very comfortable, and could become affluent were it not for their inherent indolence.

Probably those interested in fomenting an insurrection are only too well aware of the character of the people they have to deal with. If they met with any encouragement there would not be the slightest difficulty in landing bodies of men on any part of the coast, as it is utterly undefended, and the Government does not seem to think it necessary to watch the seaboard.

The strongholds of the brigands are in the mountains of the "Mademo-Choria," or mineral villages, such as Gomat, Vrasta, Erysso, Vrasna, Revenik, Larigova, &c.

From these they at periods make their raids, and return to them after having captured a wealthy Tchorbadji, and are heard of only through their agents, who arrange the ransom to be paid.

Last week one of a small band of these robbers was caught—not through the activity of those sent against them—but through his own inadvertency.

He promised to disclose everything he knew with regard to accomplices, &c., but as in all probability his evidence would implicate one or more officials of the Government, his testimony will be quashed.

Last week an order was issued to all the villages to keep a patrol of four men every night in order to give notice of the approach of brigands. This measure may be very good in theory, but will not do in practice, for there is not one village in the whole district that would attempt to resist an attack even if the people possessed proper arms.

Should brigands approach a village it would be with some object, and means would be found by their accomplices inside to let them in before any one knew of their presence.

The fact is brigandage can never be suppressed unless some European officer is placed in command of the troops charged to put it down, and then only if the sole responsibility were left to him.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 590.

*Extract from the "Hermes" (Greek Newspaper, published at Salonica) of August 25, 1880.*

(Translation.)

AS we are informed, the condition of the inhabitants of Southern Macedonia, and especially that of the Diocese of Sisanion, is most lamentable, on account of the murder of three Turks, that of Aliosh Bey and two others, and of one Christian. They were murdered between Sciatchista and Koutchko by the gang of the famous Leonidas, who was killed some days ago in an encounter with the Imperial troops.

The misfortunes and poverty of the country being not enough, 1,300 Turkish liras are demanded, it is said, from the inhabitants of Sciatchista, Selitza, and Koutchko, as a punishment for these murders. The thing seems to us incredible, but, as the news is repeated with some force, the authorities should investigate the matter, so that the abuses of some subordinate officers may not discredit the whole military dignity.



Likewise the authorities should inquire into the alleged abuses of a certain Captain Sheriff Agha, from Thessaly, who was sent in pursuit of brigands. It is said that he arrested some of the Primates of Sciatchista and tortured them, in order to show him where the brigands were concealed.

After many difficulties, he set free most of them, having kept only six, from whom he snatched their watches, which were afterwards rebought by the owners. At different periods, several other high officers passed through Sciatchista, but the inhabitants remember with gratitude their politeness and good behaviour. We are sure that the conduct of Captain Sheriff Agha will not remain unpunished, more so as Sciatchista is the chief town of the caza, giving nearly 500,000 piastres to the State. We omit the abuses of the irregulars under Abeddin Dervent Agha.

Another traitor oppressing the inhabitants is the so-called Albanian League.

We are assured that lately some emissaries of the League have demanded the signatures of the inhabitants, threatening an invasion of the Albanian Ghegs. They have succeeded in getting two signatures only, the rest of the inhabitants disapproving such a movement, as being unlawful and in opposition to the interests of the Crown.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 590.

*Extract from a Letter from Consul-General Blunt's Correspondent at Catterina.*

(Translation.) *August* 30, 1880.

LES bandes de brigands depuis Halyacmon jusqu'au Mont Olympe sont les suivantes:—

| Chefs. | Hommes. |
|---|---|
| Grecs, soit du pays soit de la Grèce— | |
| Nico, avec ses frères .. .. .. .. .. .. | 7 |
| Davelis .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 12 |
| Spanos .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5 |
| Camakas .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 7 |
| Petrilinguis .. .. .. .. .. .. | 10 |
| Gania .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 18 |
| Prahou (bande Albanaise)* .. .. .. .. .. | 16 |
| Orapos .. .. * .. .. .. .. .. | 12 |

Les bandes de Panayotti, Caloglieron, de Catarabia, de Leonidas, de Isiani, et de Vanghelli, exèrcent depuis longtemps ailleurs leurs exploits.

Les brigands parcourent hardiment les campagnes en capturant, et en rançonnant qui bon leur semble. Incompréhensibles sont les mesures dont se servent les autorités militaires de Thessalie† pour étouffer le brigandage.

Toute leur attention et leur diligence est consacrée à arrêter des pauvres innocents, et le brigandage règne et triomphe partout.

Les habitants se trouvent entre l'enclume et le marteau, c'est-à-dire, que si les brigands demandent quelque chose, et si ceux-là refusent d'adhérer à leur prétension, les habitants sont certains d'être molestés et dépouillés de tout ce qu'ils possèdent; d'autre part, les autorités n'exercent leur influence qu'à chasser de leurs foyers de pauvres innocents et le mal empire de la sorte.

La récolte, à cause de l'hiver rigoureux et de la sécheresse, a presque totalement manquée, et les pauvres habitants commencent à souffrir de la disette.

Dernièrement, Giorgi Sgouros, de Catterina, fut arrêté par le Chef brigand, Camakas, qui demande pour rançon £T. 150.

Nicolas Linaropoulos, de Colendro, et le fils de Costaki, de Veria, furent également capturés par des brigands (bandes inconnues), qui réclament £T. 100 de l'un, et £T. 200 de l'autre.

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* Composée en grand nombre de fuyards de la gendarmerie provisoire.

† Le district de Catterina est militairement sous les ordres du Commandant-en-chef de Thessalie.

Inclosure 5 in No. 590.

*Extract from a Letter from Kiupruli-Velessa.*

*Le 10 Septembre*, 1880.

LES bandes de voleurs qui infestent le pays et qui viennent de Bulgarie ont entrepris sous l'instigation des Comités Bulgares la destruction des Beys Turcs. Ils espèrent par-là surexciter la population Musulmane qui, poussée à bout, renouvellerait un second Batak. Mettant en exécution cette tactique trois Beys Turcs, surpris nuitamment dans leurs fermes, ont été assassinés à peu de jours d'intervalle.

La population Musulmane en apprenant ces nouvelles s'est portée chez le Caïmacam demandant l'arrestation des Chefs des Comités et leur mise à mort. Le Caïmacam, effrayé par l'attitude de la population, a expédié le peu de gendarmes qu'il avait sous la main à la recherche des dits Chefs. Quelques jours après ils rentrèrent à Kiupruli amenant en triomphe une tête qu'ils déclarèrent être celle d'un Chef. Vérité ou mensonge, ceci calma pour quelques jours les Musulmans. Un nouvel assassinat commis en la personne d'un autre Bey a porté de nouveau leur colère au comble.

Cette fois-ci ils ont déclaré au Caïmacam que si nouvel assassinat se perpétrait, eux se chargeait d'y mettre fin, puisque l'autorité était impuissante de les protéger. Ils déclarèrent qu'ils étaient armés et sauraient se faire respecter. Des bruits circulèrent dans la ville qu'ils allèrent mettre à feu et à sang le quartier Bulgare de Kiupruli; mais cette menace n'a nullement intimidé les Bulgares, qui se sentent très-nombreux, en majorité, et parfaitement armés.

Le Gouvernement de Salonique nous a envoyé un Colonel avec cinquante soldats, et Kiupruli a été proclamée en état de siége. Ces mesures sont excellentes, car une plus longue inaction aurait pu amener des conséquences fâcheuses et dont on aurait pas pu mesurer l'étendue.

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Inclosure 6 in No. 590.

*Extract from a Letter from Consul-General Blunt's Correspondent at Serres.*

*September* 17, 1880.

I MAY add that the town of Serres is perfectly quiet, but the roads between the several villages of our district are said to be insecure, owing to the depredations and acts of violence committed by petty robbers and the evil-disposed. The Salonica road is reported safe. There is a good deal of recruiting going on for the Redifs, it is said, but I do not know where the recruits are destined for. I saw some taking a northerly direction.

The autumn crops, unlike last year, are reported to be very flourishing, and it is likely there will be an abundant harvest, especially in the two staple products of this province, viz., Indian corn and cotton.

The prosperity of the Indian corn crop is of immense importance to the country. The bulk of the population is fed on this article. When this is cheap, of course wheat and other grains fall in price.

This year, therefore, it is hoped we shall have cheap bread, although the spring crops, wheat, barley, &c., are said to be somewhat below the average.

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Inclosure 7 in No. 590.

*Statement of Crimes committed in the District of Prilep* (Perlepe) since May* 1880.

*May* 10.—KIAMIL EFFENDI carried off the daughter, Tzvetano, of Porotz, and gave her to his son, and this in spite of the protests of her parents, from whom he further demanded the sum of £T. 10, equal to 230 fr.

*May* 17.—The sister of Coleta Abramvoski, carried off by Faizi, of Tzernilintza, who sold her as wife to Nechka, of Ropotovo, for £T. 12, equal to 276 fr.

The same day the brigands carried off the son of Mladinof, of Sarandinovo; his whereabouts unknown.

*May* 29.—Robbers fell on Coleta Nicolof, of village of Zirvo, robbed his money

* A town in the Vilayet of Monastir, and about seven hours from Monastir.



stripped him of his clothes, took him to Motchourat, and left him dying of the wound, they had given him.

*June* 3.—Four traders, who were returning from abroad, fell into the hands of brigands, on the Monastir road, near Topoltchani; two of them, Costa, of Melovista, and Marco Cafédji, were killed; the two others escaped.

*June* 5.—Robbers stripped Voltcheta Kurkdji, of Castoria, at 3 miles from Prilep.

*June* 10.—Selim Dobronetz, Poljak of Zerze, killed the son of Traïko Glabouteko, because the latter's father had refused to give him 10 medjids, equal to 45 fr.

*June* 10.—The Poljak of Kvatcheko was killed near Prilep.

*June* 16.—Tzvetko Josepof was carried away by Allel Osmanof and Ibrahim Demof, and had to pay £T. 8 for his release.

*July* 4.—The shepherd of Sterio, of Selo-Zerkno, killed by brigands near Tchepigo.

*July* 8.—Tzerwenkof, Abram Mouyan, Petko Moisef, and four other peasants of Nehrigovo, going to market, stripped by brigands.

*July* 14.—At the village of Vessertzani the assistant of Hussein Samono was killed by brigands.

*July* 27.—Four brigands carried off the son of Otzeto Noletof near Prilep; being unable to obtain the ransom demanded, they maltreated him so that he died a few days after.

*August* 2.—Costa Govedard found cut to pieces 4 miles from Prilep.

*August* 9.—Akoutché Petrof, Angeli Petrof, and Kondo found killed 2 miles from Prilep.

*August* 16.—Jovantcho Natchef and Athanass Moisof killed on the Gradsko road; Naountché Traïkof severely wounded. The same day Stoyan Broyanoff, of Klepsatz, and Petko Syhof wounded on the Monastir road, 2 miles from Prilep.

*August* 17.—Cona Galemintchic, with his son and Nicola Iliof, going to Bitolia, attacked by Mustapha Koniaret and the Poljaks of Oreovo, who took all their money, tied them in the watch-hut, and maltreated them terribly.

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Inclosure 8 in No. 590.

*Statement regarding the Assassination of Mahommedans in the District of Perlepe, between the 20th July and the 9th September*, 1880.

NEAR Kaklidja, 1 Mahommedan killed four weeks ago.
Jessenova, 3 Mahommedans killed six weeks ago.
Oharovdo, 3 Poljaks killed six weeks ago.
Bogomilo, 2 tithe collectors and 1 zaptieh killed two weeks ago.
Vetersko, 1 Bey killed (? date).
Podless, 2 Poljaks and 1 refugee killed (? date); Hamid Agha fired at twenty-five days before.

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No. 591.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Admiralty, September* 30, 1880.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of the decypher of a telegram which has been received from the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean:—

"*Gravosa, September* 30, 1880, 3·10 P.M.

"Report that Dulcigno was burnt is false."

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

No. 592.

*Baron Haymerlé to Baron Calice.*—(*Communicated to Earl Granville by Baron de Biegeleben, September* 30.)

*Vienne, le* 20 *Septembre*, 1880.

(Télégraphique.)

LA protestation proposée par la Russie se trouve anticipée par la note collective des Ambassadeurs.

Le Prince de Monténégro nous a transmis depuis une déclaration de Riza Pacha portant qu'il verrait dans tout passage de la frontière par des troupes Monténégrines un acte d'hostilité du Monténégro envers la Porte, et qu'il repousserait la force par la force.

Insistez énergiquement auprès de la Porte, conjointement avec vos collègues, sur une explication quant à la question si Riza Pacha était autorisé à faire cette déclaration, et demandez communication de ses instructions, lesquelles vous voudrez nous télégraphier.

Demandez de plus à la Porte comment elle croit pouvoir mettre en accord ce message au Monténégro avec sa note du 18 Août ainsi qu'avec ses assurances officielles réitérées que la mission de Riza n'avait pas d'autre objet que d'effectuer la cession de Dulcigno.

Entendez-vous enfin avec les autres Ambassadeurs pour requérir de la Porte qu'elle envoie incessamment les instructions nécessaires à Riza Pacha pour l'exécution de la cession ou tout au moins, si les Puissances veulent bien s'en contenter, pour sa retraite immédiate avec les troupes régulières derrière la Boyana et leur abstention de toute coopération avec les Albanais.

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No. 593.

*Mr. Goschen to Lord Tenterden.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 269.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Therapia, September* 29, 1880.

YOUR telegram No. 593.

Repetitions of Sale's Nos. 13 and 15 were delivered at midnight on Monday.

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No. 594.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 8 A.M.)

(No. 270.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Therapia, September* 29, 1880, 10·45 P.M.

MEETING of Ambassadors to-day decided our Doyen should verbally answer Under-Secretary to the effect that we appreciate feeling which has induced His Majesty to take the step of addressing himself directly to the Representatives of the Powers. That we regret all the more not to be in a position to give an [? answer] on a question [? which had] passed out of our hands.

As to the note which it was our duty to address to the Porte in reply to its note of the 22nd instant, it was impossible for us to take it back.

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No. 595.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 8 A.M.)

(No. 271.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Therapia, September* 29, 1880, 11 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 594, I consider that, if it is impossible to induce the Powers to unite in supporting Prince of Montenegro beyond giving that naval co-operation which would probably be insufficient to protect him in his advance, it is absolutely essential to put pressure on the Porte elsewhere.

I should advise that the Porte should be summoned to give categorical explanations as to instructions of Riza Pasha, especially as regards declaration that Montenegrin advance should be considered as an act of war.

Duplicate of these instructions should be forwarded to Admiral. If there is any



hesitation, Porte should be apprised by an ultimatum of the consequences. I do not hesitate to say that one of the consequences should be the dispatch of the united fleet to a position near to Constantinople. I have been anxiously considering whether, in [? such] calculation, the Greek frontier question should not also be taken in hand at the same time. If practicable, this should be done, so that the fresh and more important naval demonstration would cover both Montenegrin and Greek questions. Great harm would be done by the Greek question being allowed to sleep too long.

The situation here is such that a little further pressure might produce a strong reaction in favour of concession all along the line, if the hitch in Montenegro should not revive the hopes of the Turks that they may break up the European concert. On the other hand, the risk must be run that this pressure may bring about a very serious crisis.

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No. 596.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 8 A.M.)

(No. 272.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Therapia, September* 29, 1880, 11·30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 271, Her Majesty's Government should not forget the disastrous consequences of a delayed settlement in view of the present state of things in Turkey.

The Porte is practically paralyzed and government at a standstill. Parts of Macedonia and parts of Albania practically beyond the control of the authorities. The exclusive attention of the Sultan and the Porte being fixed on their contest with the Powers, everything else is allowed to drift, and from every quarter our Consuls report an almost intolerable situation. The influence for good of all the Powers is entirely in abeyance.

Your Lordship knows the state of affairs in Anatolia, [groups wrong], on the Tigris, and elsewhere. The winter will make things much worse. The only hope for real improvement would lie in the immediate submission of Turkey to Europe. This is an issue far more important than the cession of Dulcigno, and must, in my judgment, be achieved at all hazards.

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No. 597.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 8 A.M.)

(No. 273.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Therapia, September* 29, 1880, 11·15 P.M.

HAVAS Agency reports that demonstration is postponed for ten days. This rumour will have a most pernicious effect. I presume there is no foundation for it beyond the [groups wrong] the Admirals for instructions.

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No. 598.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 9 A.M.)

(No. 18.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Ragusa, September* 30, 1880, 12·30 A.M.

A REPORT has been received from Austrian authorities that Dulcigno has been burnt. The report requires confirmation, and the Admiral sent a vessel down coast to verify report.

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No. 599.

*Captain Sale to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 19.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Gravosa, September* 30, 1880.

THE report as to Dulcigno having been burnt proves untrue. Admiral proposes to move fleet to Cattaro next Monday.

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No. 600.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 8 P.M.)

(No. 36. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, September* 30, 1880, 4·3 P.M.

M. TRICOUPI tells me that M. [? Contostavlos], by advice of Sir Charles Dilke, recommended the King of Greece to go to Paris to concert with new Ministry on Greek question. M. Tricoupi much opposed to King's doing so, and has telegraphed to His Majesty in this sense.

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No. 601.

*Mr. Corbett to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, September* 30, 1880.

GREEK Minister at Paris has reported that French Minister for Foreign Affairs had assured him of the great interest France takes in Greece, and that the former will not detach herself from European concert; but the position of the Ministry imposes reserve, and France could not go to war without consent of the Chambers.

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No. 602.

*Lord Odo Russell to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 101.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September* 30, 1880.

IN reply to a query of mine, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs says German Government has no special proposition to make under circumstances, and awaits, as usual, the decision of the Powers.

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No. 603.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 1·30 P.M.)

(No. 106.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 30, 1880, 12·5 P.M.

I LEARN that French Government have not received any more of the French text of collective note than that I sent by post on Tuesday.

They telegraph for remainder.

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No. 604.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 30, 1880.

FRENCH Minister for Foreign Affairs begs me to say that he is much pained at concluding paragraphs of first article in "Times" of yesterday, and to assure Her Majesty's Government that the French Government have no intention of leaving European concert. Also that rumours of such intention attributed by French newspapers to Council of Ministers in recent sitting are absolutely false.

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No. 605.

*Mr. Adams to Earl Granville.*—(*Received September* 30, 3 P.M.)

(No. 108. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September* 30, 1880, 1·30 P.M.

WITH reference to my despatches referring to Mr. Macdonell's private telegram of the 27th, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, appreciating the message conveyed to the



French Government through the friendly channel of Her Majesty's Government as an earnest of Italy to be on friendly terms with France, will consult French Minister of Marine, with a view to withdraw two iron-clads at once, and replace third vessel before long by an "aviso."

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No. 606.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 513.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

YOUR telegram No. 107.

Express satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have received assurances of French Minister for Foreign Affairs. Rumours alluded to had reached them, and it is particularly agreeable, on the formation of a new Government, to get such assurances, and especially from a person of M. de St. Hilaire's high character.

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No. 607.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 605.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 3·40 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve the answer of the Ambassadors refusing to take back the collective note protesting against the opposition made by the Porte to their legitimate demands, and making the Ottoman Government responsible for the consequences.

Her Majesty's Government remain in doubt as to the communication made to you by the Under-Secretary on behalf of the Sultan, but they assume that it includes orders to Riza Pasha to desist from interfering to prevent Montenegrin occupation of Dulcigno, and at least to withdraw his troops from beyond the Boyana.

You are authorized to grant the delay until Sunday, in the hopes that the complete acquiescence of the Porte will prevent the necessity of ulterior measures.

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No. 608.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 607.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 4·30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 260 of the 27th instant.

French text of collective note presented on the 27th, as communicated to me by French Government through Mr. Adams, does not tally with résumé of it contained in your telegram No. 262 of the 27th.

French text omits the paragraphs which treat of the conditions put forward by the Porte, and which are contained in your telegram No. 262, from the words "as regards the first condition mentioned in Porte's note," to the words "they gladly undertake to ask no further territorial cession in favour of Montenegro."

Remainder of French text is similar to the subsequent part of your telegram No. 262.

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No. 609.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 611.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 7·30 P.M.

I HAVE told the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires that I have telegraphed to you in much the same sense as the telegram sent by Baron Haymerle, reported in Sir H. Elliot's telegram No. 161 of the 29th, repeated to you in my telegram No. 609.

Concert with your Austrian and other colleagues upon a joint or identic communication to the Porte to the effect of my telegram No. 605 of to-day, and Baron Haymerle's instruction.

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No. 610.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.**

(No. 614.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 8·30 P.M.

THE report that Dulcigno has been burnt is false.

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No. 611.

*Earl Granville to Captain Sale.*

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 8·30 P.M.

COMMUNICATE to the Admiral my telegram to Green No. 112 of to-day, which is repeated to you in my telegram No. 21.

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No. 612.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 112.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 8·40 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 112 of the 28th instant.

You should keep yourself in communication with the Admiral, and hold your services at his disposal.

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No. 613.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 30, 9 P.M.)

(No. 182. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 30, 1880, 4·30 P.M.

IN conversation to-day M. Jomini mentioned that he thinks he sees in the new French Ministry more disposition to energy, and less fear of responsibility.

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No. 614.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 30, 9 P.M.)

(No. 183.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 30, 1880, 5·30 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 737, M. Jomini says that Russia is waiting to hear what course Her Majesty's Government will propose out of difficulty at Dulcigno. At the same time, though he believes the opposition to come solely from the Sultan and his Court, he does not see how the Powers can now help giving His Majesty till the 3rd October. It seems to him impossible that the Powers can agree on any other course before Sunday.

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No. 615.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 30, 9 P.M.)

(No. 184.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 30, 1880, 6 P.M.

TURKISH Embassy here state openly that at Dulcigno is a Janina, which Turkey is defending, and not the few acres more or less which the Powers propose to give to Montenegro.

I learn confidentially, from trustworthy sources, that M. Jomini has complained to some of my colleagues that it is England who has led Montenegro and the Powers into the present difficulty.

I also hear that the Emperor is vexed at dangers to which his protégé the Prince of

* Also to Mr. Plunkett (No. 748), Lord Odo Russell (No. 630), Sir H. Elliot (No. 680), Mr. Adams (No ), and Mr. Macdonell (No. ).



Montenegro may be exposed, and at the blow to Russian prestige should he now suffer any harm.

Your Lordship is aware that Russia takes no interest in Greeks. If naval demonstration now falls through without obtaining any result, I think that it may not be impossible that Russia may assume part of Turkey's friend, and try to mediate between Porte and the Powers, on the basis of sacrificing the Greeks to the Montenegrins.

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No. 616.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received September* 30, 9:30 P.M.)

(No. 185. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 30, 1880, 6·30 P.M.

A REPORT has reached me to-day that France is sounding the other Powers as to what answer they will give if England proposes to move naval demonstration to the Dardanelles.

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No. 617.

*Earl Granville to Captain Sale.*

(No. 20.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880, 9·15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 13 of the 27th instant, and Admiral's telegram of same date, represent Riza Pasha's answer to Prince of Montenegro as saying advance of Montenegrins would be deemed as act or declaration of war.

Version contained in Elliot's No. 160, repeated to you in my telegram No. 19 of to-day, is somewhat different.

Which version is correct?

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No. 618.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 533. Extender.)
*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your Excellency's telegrams Nos. 263 and 264 of the 28th instant and 270 of the 29th instant, giving an account of the overtures made by the Porte to induce the Ambassadors of the Great Powers to withdraw the collective note respecting Montenegro which they presented to the Porte on the 27th instant. Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the answer that the Ambassadors have returned to the Porte refusing to take back the note in question, which protests against the opposition made by the Porte to their legitimate demands for the settlement of the Montenegrin question, and makes the Ottoman Government responsible for the consequences that may ensue from the non-fulfilment of their engagements.

Her Majesty's Government are in doubt as to the precise meaning of the communication made to you by the Turkish Under-Secretary on behalf of the Sultan, but they assume that it includes orders to Riza Pasha to desist from interfering to prevent Montenegro from occupying Dulcigno, and at least to withdraw his troops from beyond the Boyana. Under these circumstances Her Majesty's Government authorize you to grant the delay sought for by the Porte until Sunday, the 3rd October, in the hope that the complete acquiescence of the Ottoman Government will prevent the necessity of recourse to ulterior measures.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 619.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 534. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram No. 260 of the 27th instant, I have to inform your Excellency that the French Government have communicated to me, through Her Majesty's Minister at Paris, a copy of the French text of the collective note respecting Montenegro presented to the Porte by the Ambassadors of the Great Powers on the 27th instant.

The version of the note received from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs does not exactly tally with the résumé of it contained in your Excellency's telegram No. 262 of the 17th instant. The French text omits the paragraphs which treat of the conditions put forward by the Porte, and which are quoted in your telegram above mentioned, from the words "as regards the first condition mentioned in the Porte's note" to the words "they gladly undertake to ask no further territorial cession in favour of Montenegro."

The remainder of the French text, however, appears to be similar to the subsequent parts of your Excellency's telegram No. 262.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 620.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 535. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 609 of to-day's date respecting the Montenegrin question, I have to inform you that I have to-day acquainted the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court that I had telegraphed to you in much the same sense as the telegram sent by Baron Haymerle to the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople, the substance of which instruction is contained in Sir H. Elliot's telegram No. 161 of the 29th instant.

I have accordingly to instruct your Excellency to concert with your Austrian and other colleagues upon a joint or identic communication to the Porte to the effect of my telegram No. 605 of to-day, and of Baron Haymerle's instructions to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 621.

*Earl Granville to Captain Sale.*

(No. 28. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

YOUR telegram No. 13 of the 27th instant and Admiral Seymour's telegram of the same date, represent that Riza Pasha's letter to the Montenegrin Commander near Dulcigno stated that he should consider any advance on the part of Montenegro to seize Dulcigno as an act or declaration of war.

The text of the Turkish Commander's note, as communicated to the Austrian Government and reported by Sir H. Elliot in his telegram No. 160 of the 29th instant which was repeated to you to-day, differs somewhat from that reported by you, and I should be glad to be informed which version is the correct one.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 622.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Kirby Green.*

(No. 121. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

I RECEIVED your telegram No. 112 of the 28th instant announcing your arrival at Cettinjé, and I have to instruct you to take steps for keeping yourself in communication



with Admiral Seymour and to hold your services at his disposal in case he may require them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 623.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Plunkett.*

(No. 498.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

THE Russian Ambassador communicated to me on the 27th instant a telegram from his Government, of which a copy is inclosed, proposing that the Powers should protest unanimously at Constantinople against the refusal of Riza Pasha to surrender Dulcigno, and should cast all the responsibility on the Porte.

I replied that it appeared to me that the Ambassadors at Constantinople had anticipated the suggestion in their collective rejoinder to the Porte's last note, but that I had no objection to repeat the intimation based upon the action of Riza Pasha if it were thought desirable by the other Powers.

His Excellency said that he believed his Government had not seen the collective rejoinder of the Ambassadors when this telegram had been sent to him, and that it seemed to have sufficiently met the proposal for a protest, as it made use of nearly the same expression as to the responsibility devolving on the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 624.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1311. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government have received with much satisfaction your telegram of to-day, stating that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs has requested you to assure me that the French Government have no intention of leaving the European concert

The rumours alluded to by his Excellency had reached Her Majesty's Government, and it is therefore particularly agreeable to them to receive, upon the formation of a new Government, and from a statesman of such high character as M. B. de St. Hilaire, the assurance that they are entirely devoid of foundation.

I have requested you, by telegraph, to make a communication to the French Government in the above sense.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 625.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Adams.*

(No. 1312.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

THE French Ambassador called upon me to-day.

I took the opportunity to request that his Excellency would express to his Government the pleasure with which I had received their assurance of their desire to maintain the concerted action between the Powers, and to work in harmony with England. Such language, I said, was even more valuable coming from a man of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire's high character. I had certainly heard reports of the late French Government having received the favourable opinion of the Sultan to a degree which was not likely to further the objects proposed in common by the Powers. Whether these statements had been well-founded in part or not, it was most satisfactory to learn that the policy of the present Ministry did not lean in that direction.

I went on to tell M. Challemel-Lacour of the instructions which had been addressed to-day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the Montenegrin question. I said that the recent action of Riza Pasha, and the refusal of the Porte to cede Dulcigno

except upon inadmissible conditions, had brought matters to a much more serious stage.

The Sultan had now promised a settlement of the question in the next three days, and it remained to be seen whether this was a *bonâ fide* proposal or merely a fresh pretext for evasion and delay. In either case it seemed to us that the question of the Greek frontier must shortly be brought forward either in succession to or in combination with that which was now occupying the attention of the Powers.

We should be very glad to consult with the French Government in full confidence, and before communicating with the other Cabinets, as to the best time and method of treating it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 626.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Secret.)

*Foreign Office, September* 30, 1880.

Sir,

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that instructions have been sent by telegraph to Mr. Kirby Green to keep himself in communication with Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour, and to hold his services at that officer's disposal, and a telegram has been addressed to Captain Sale desiring him to communicate to the Admiral the instructions thus sent to Mr. Green.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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